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Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger

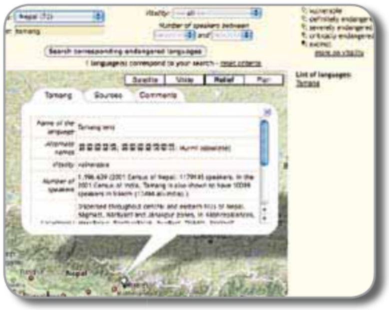
Editor-in-chief: **Christopher Moseley**

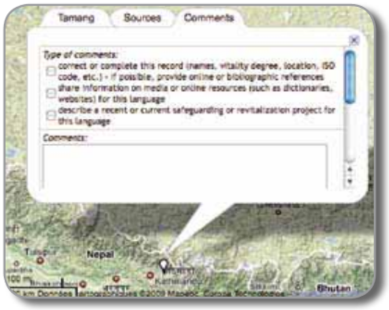
www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages

The **interactive version** of the Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger includes the 2500 languages listed in this print version and provides for each of them **additional data** such as alternative names, countries, numbers of speakers, sources and corresponding ISO 639-3 codes.

This **free** Internet-based version of the Atlas is interactive: the user can set various search parameters (vitality, country, number of speakers, name) to filter information on endangered languages and navigate using a **dynamic map interface.** All of this can be done in French, English or Spanish.

Another fundamental feature of this tool allows any user – whether a linguist, a speaker of an endangered language or anyone with useful information on a particular endangered language – to **submit comments and suggestions** online, thus contributing to the ongoing **updating** of the digital Atlas and future print editions.





Type of comments:

☐ correct or complete this record (names, vitality degree, location, ISO code, etc.) - if possible, provide online or bibliographic references

☐ share information on media or online resources (such as dictionaries, websites) for this language

☐ describe a recent or current safeguarding or revitalization project for this language

Comments:

We invite readers of this print version to use the interactive Atlas to share with us their comments and suggestions, or to give feedback by sending an email to **atlas@unesco.org.**

Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger

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Editor-in-Chief: Christopher Moseley

Cartographer: Alexandre Nicolas

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Memory of Peoples Series

Preface

by Irina Bokova, Director-General of UNESCO

Over recent decades, as information technologies have brought more of the world's knowledge to more of the world's people at unprecedented speed, humanity's linguistic diversity has been shrinking. That process is inexorable but not inevitable: international cooperation and well-planned, intelligently implemented language policies can bolster the ongoing efforts of speaker communities to maintain their mother tongues and pass them on to their children, even in the face of powerful forces pressing them to shift towards larger languages. When UNESCO published the first edition of the *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* in 1996, it sounded an international alarm that has now been heard by public officials and policy makers, language communities and scholars, the media and civil society worldwide. With this third edition – available since February 2009 in an online digital format – we note that while the gravity and urgency of the problem of language loss are no less acute today, our tools for understanding the phenomenon are increasingly effective, and our repertoire of proven responses continues to grow daily.

Language loss entails an impoverishment of humanity in countless ways. Each language – large or small – captures and organizes reality in a distinctive manner; to lose even one closes off potential discoveries about human cognition and the mind. The death of a language inevitably leads to the disappearance of various forms of intangible cultural heritage such as performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, traditional crafts and the priceless legacy of the community's oral traditions and expressions, such as poetry and jokes, proverbs and legends. The loss of indigenous languages is also detrimental to biodiversity, as traditional knowledge of nature and the universe, spiritual beliefs and cultural values expressed in indigenous languages provide time-tested mechanisms for the sustainable use of natural resources and management of ecosystems, which have become more critical with the emergence of urgent new challenges posed by climate change.

To complement its set of international standard-setting instruments aimed at defending cultural diversity as the common heritage of humanity, UNESCO seeks to provide practical tools for safeguarding endangered languages such as this publication and its digital version. Whereas the first edition reported on 600 languages only, and the second included 900, this third edition has been substantially expanded to include information on the endangerment status of about three times as many languages. As a result, the number listed in the present edition now approaches the estimate generally accepted by linguists of some 2,500 endangered languages worldwide.

The first edition's twelve maps left large parts of the world blank because we lacked accurate knowledge. The thirty maps featured in the new edition provide global – if still not comprehensive – coverage. Thus, with this edition, and particularly with the ever-changing, ever-growing digital version, the Atlas has become a powerful tool for monitoring the situation of the world's endangered languages, while continuing its proven role as an instrument for raising awareness among policy makers, the media, the general public and especially the speakers of languages in danger.

This new edition also features another significant improvement: it reports on a wealth of effective community experiences in safeguarding and revitalizing endangered languages and a number of national policy initiatives that support such efforts. While the threats facing such languages are no smaller or fewer than they were in 1996 and the urgency of their endangerment is no less acute, I am encouraged by the increasing effectiveness of the global response. Let us continue to seek better ways of supporting the speakers of endangered languages whose strong commitment to their mother tongue is the most decisive factor for language maintenance and ensuring sustainable results.

This publication has been prepared with the greatest possible care.
However, it may be that a few errors have escaped our attention.
We thank our readers in advance for indicating to us any error or inconsistency,
so that we could improve subsequent editions of this work.

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Introduction

Christopher Moseley

Nine years have passed since the previous edition of this Atlas was published. Nine years have also passed since the death of Professor Stephen Wurm of the Australian National University, who edited the first two editions. They marked the first attempt to plot on maps the locations of the languages that were most in danger of extinction within the foreseeable future. Both those editions highlighted particular areas of the world where linguistic diversity was being seriously depleted.

This project was born of a concern for the loss of diversity in this most basic human resource. It parallels the increasing concern over the loss of the world's biological diversity, and for related reasons: the loss of isolated and self-sustaining habitats in the face of encroaching urbanization, economic concentration and the consequent homogenization of human cultures.

By its very nature, this Atlas tends to become outdated more rapidly than an ordinary language atlas would do. What is plotted on these maps are the most fragile linguistic balances – languages in danger of disappearing, even disappearing from one edition to the next.

The present edition is a logical progression from the second edition of 2001, which was divided into five parts: an introduction detailing developments in the study of endangered languages since the first edition; a description of the phenomenon of language endangerment and the death of languages; a short report on efforts by the scientific community to describe and record endangered languages; a fairly detailed overview of language endangerment in all major parts of the world; and a small atlas of some fourteen maps, some completely new and some others revised from the previous edition.

What the 2001 edition called 'major parts of the world' could be defined as those areas where the pressure on minority languages was the greatest, to put it in the simplest terms. This edition, however, expands the coverage to virtually the entire inhabited world, regardless of the density of endangered languages, while varying the scale of the maps to accommodate and acknowledge those areas where the linguistic diversity is greatest, or under the greatest threat.

The five years between the appearance of the first two editions were marked by an explosion in awareness of and research into language endangerment. This was due to several factors. My predecessor, Stephen Wurm, in the Introduction to the previous edition, pointed to a number of ventures that appeared alongside the first edition of this Atlas, including both publications and organizations in support of threatened languages. For a number of years previously, several international forums had been calling attention to the threat to the world's pool of species diversity, and clearly this created a public mood that also encouraged an interest in preserving the diversity of human language and material culture. Thanks to the devotion of linguists in many countries, for the first time in human history it had become possible, at least in theory, to accurately catalogue and locate every language known all over the world. The compendium the *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (Lewis, 2009), published by SIL International at regular intervals since 1951, is one of the most extensive efforts of this kind, and the *Encyclopedia of the World's Endangered Languages* (Moseley, 2007) is one of the most recent. The only languages omitted were those belonging to the remaining handful of uncontacted peoples in the most inaccessible regions of the world.

Uncontacted languages are not the same as endangered languages, of course. But from the moment contact is established with the outside world, it must be assumed that the (previously) uncontacted group is not initiating the contact, but rather has been 'discovered', and that the discoverers represent a much larger speech community, probably an international one, and one which, at the very least, has sufficient infrastructure to organize such an expedition. One must also assume that the contacting side has an interest in either the speech community or the land it occupies. Commercial expansion and exploitation are frequently the motive behind such explorations and incursions.

Such first contacts are rare nowadays, but not unknown. There are also cases where the speakers deliberately repulse any attempt at contact, such as the speakers of Sentilese on Sentinel Island in the Andaman group in India, and certain Amazonian groups. In the twenty-first century, when a traditional way of life among hunter-gatherer peoples is a rarity, it is prized and championed by advocacy groups such as Survival International.

From the point of view of the linguistic researcher, this is a double-edged sword. The trained linguist must be sensitive and alert not only to linguistic factors so as to be able to accurately describe and transcribe the language (usually with the help of a bilingual intermediary) but also to non-linguistic and cultural factors, ignorance of which might alienate the group being studied and make cooperation impossible. Nowadays professional linguists, whether their aims are missionary or purely research-oriented, receive a thorough training in field methods. This in itself is an important factor in the future preservation of the world's threatened languages.

What constitutes an endangered language, then? Linguists differ in their assessments of what exactly endangerment is, and the degrees of danger implied (see the writings of Joshua Fishman, 1991, 2000, a pioneer in this field of study, on the ways of assessing the viability of a language for revitalization), but the simplest definition that can be given is the following: a language is endangered if it is not being passed on to younger generations.

There are many complications, nuances and uncertainties associated with this definition. For example, a language may be thriving in the home environment, but not taught in the schools. In such cases, the language is not likely to be a written one, so that oral transmission is the norm. A language may be the vehicle of an economic underclass whose breadwinners are forced to go elsewhere to seek work – and when they do move into a larger speech community, they may not be able to retain everyday use of their own language. Circumstances vary from region to region, as will be seen from the discussions in this book, but a common thread running through those discussions is that endangered languages lack prestige – even in the eyes of their speakers; they lack economic power and independence; they lack a stable infrastructure; and in most cases they also lack literacy. That is why it is an important mission of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to locate and publicize those languages, for the common awareness of humankind and the common good of its Member States.

Between the first and second editions of this Atlas, rapid strides were made in the coordinated study of language endangerment on a worldwide basis. Work on severely endangered languages in various parts of the world was carried out under a contract between the Intangible Cultural Heritage Section of UNESCO and the Permanent International Committee of Linguists (CIPL), enabled by a series of grants. Grants have also been provided for language documentation and rescue projects by the Linguistic Circle of Copenhagen; the Volkswagen Stiftung in Germany; the British-based Foundation for Endangered Languages; the Endangered Languages Fund in the United States of America; and the Languages of the Pacific Rim Project directed from Kyoto, Japan. The funding of research in the field has been placed on a much firmer footing since the establishment in 2002 of the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project, based at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London.

The revival of recently or even long-extinct languages is becoming a topical issue in many parts of the world, with the descendants of the last speakers clamouring for materials on their ancestral languages in order to gain an insight into how they sounded and functioned, and to relearn them at least in part so that they can use words and phrases as symbols of their reawakened identity. In Australia, for example, several dying or extinct languages have been revived and already have several dozen speakers, with more and more members of the respective ethnic communities learning their ancestral tongues.

Nations in which a major world language of colonial expansion is the dominant one, but which harbour small languages whose territory is shrinking, have often found it hard to come to terms with their indigenous heritage, and have not devoted sufficient attention to the field of safeguarding language. This is true not only of Australia, Canada and the United States, where English has swept all before it, but also of Lusophone Brazil and the Spanish-speaking world generally. That is one reason why this international volume fills such a pressing need: there is an obvious benefit in comparing the situations of loss of diversity and taking steps to redress the balance.

The history of mapping the world's languages is almost as recent as that of the awareness of language endangerment – indeed, they go hand in hand. Not only does this edition of the Atlas provide a more complete coverage of the world's surface than the previous editions, but the maps have been prepared in a completely different way. For the first time, this Atlas is being made available in both print and online versions, and the contributors have plotted the data interactively, making use of an interface developed by UNESCO and based on the Google Maps platform. The online edition of the Atlas similarly relies on this widely available and familiar platform to present all the data included in the print edition and much more.

Some of the maps have been updated from the previous edition; others are entirely new. Likewise, many of the contributors have been involved with the project since its inception, while others (especially those working on entirely new maps) have been specially commissioned for this edition. The format of the Atlas remains much the same, however: a text covering the general issues of language endangerment in each of the regions into which the maps are divided, followed by a set of maps on which languages are plotted using a colour-coded system showing the degree of endangerment. The markers are of uniform size: it would be impossible to clearly represent tiny speech communities within a vast area inhabited by majority languages. The online version shows, at the click of a mouse on the marker, the exact latitude and longitude coordinates of a language as well as a wealth of other information, and permits interactive contributions from the world's linguists, census-takers and, most importantly, language communities.

Since the process of language attrition and extinction is a slow one, usually occurring over several generations, the Atlas has had to be somewhat arbitrary in its choice of which languages to exclude. Our aim is to raise the alarm for languages that are, as the title states, in danger. We take this mandate to mean all languages that are known to be in decline towards a foreseeable point of extinction – where the mechanisms are not in place to ensure their transmission to future generations – a decline that is predictable, but not of course inevitable.

The terminology of the degrees of endangerment has changed slightly since the first and second editions of this Atlas. Professor Wurm had established the practice of naming the five gradations as: *vulnerable languages*, where decreasing numbers of children are being taught the language; *endangered languages*, meaning that the youngest speakers are young adults; *seriously endangered languages*, where the youngest speakers have already passed middle age; *critically endangered languages*, which have only a few elderly speakers remaining; and *extinct languages*, marked in the previous editions with a black cross where they were last known to be spoken. Of course, the world is littered with extinct languages, and those included here are only those that have died recently, within the past couple of generations. In practice this means: since an awareness of their plight and imminent extinction was recorded. All trace of these languages has, in some cases, been wiped out for ever.

Following a two-year period of research by an ad hoc team of linguists commissioned by UNESCO, a document was published under the title *Language Vitality and Endangerment* (UNESCO, 2003). It established six degrees of endangerment that 'may be distinguished with regard to intergenerational transmission':

> ***Safe (5):*** *The language is spoken by all generations. The intergenerational transmission of the language is uninterrupted. [Thus such languages are not indicated in this Atlas.]*
> ***Stable yet threatened (5-):*** *The language is spoken in most contexts by all generations with unbroken intergenerational transmission, yet multilingualism in the native language and one or more dominant language(s) has usurped certain important communication contexts. Note that such multilingualism alone is not necessarily a threat to languages.*
> ***Vulnerable (4):*** *Most, but not all, children or families of a particular community speak their parental language as their*

> *first language, but this may be restricted to specific social domains (such as the home, where children interact with their parents and grandparents).*
>
> ***Definitely endangered (3):*** *The language is no longer being learned as the mother tongue by children in the home. The youngest speakers are thus of the parental generation. At this stage, parents may still speak their language to their children, but their children do not typically respond in the language.*
>
> ***Severely endangered (2):*** *The language is spoken only by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may still understand the language, they typically do not speak it to their children, or among themselves.*
>
> ***Critically endangered (1):*** *The youngest speakers are in the great-grandparental generation, and the language is not used for everyday interactions. These older people often remember only part of the language but do not use it on a regular basis, since there are few people left to speak with.*
>
> ***Extinct (0):*** *There is no one who can speak or remember the language.*

For this edition, these are the definitions that have been adopted, and we have decided to represent languages in the last five categories: *vulnerable*, *definitely endangered*, *severely endangered*, *critically endangered* and *extinct*.

It is a sign of the vigour of language revitalization efforts in various parts of the world that, in the course of preparing this Atlas, our team has met with objections to the term 'extinct' to refer to languages that have lost their last first-language speakers within living memory of present generations, according to our objective criteria. Our term has caused offence among those who are successfully revitalizing languages with only a handful of speakers, and even reviving the use of languages that had once been thought to be beyond saving. This gives us new hope, and we are pleased to acknowledge that the bald term 'extinct' does not reflect the true situation for some languages. These are the languages whose use and transmission have been interrupted for a generation or more. Previous editions of this Atlas had not had to consider revitalization movements, but since the last edition, in many places, they have gained strength and second-language speakers. Such languages, which might now be classified as 'critically endangered', 'vulnerable' or some other term within our terminology, will be identified as being in the process of revitalization.

Lastly, a word should be added about an all-important factor in the transmission of language: literacy. It would have been desirable in this Atlas to indicate on the maps whether each marked language possesses a written form. But this is not easy or straightforward. First, the speakers may possess literacy, but not in their own tongue – rather, in one of greater prestige and a longer written tradition. Second, the 'written form' may have been devised by outside linguists for transcription purposes, rather than for the creation of a body of written work, or a means of ordinary communication, by the speakers. Third, a written tradition in the language may have died out before the spoken form, and it may have been unstable and not in general use. With so many variables, it is not possible to present this information in graphically coded form. Literacy, however, figures prominently in the discussions by the regional editors in the different chapters of this volume.

Acknowledgements

The team of regional editors and their assistant contributors prepared this vast project over several months and working to a tight schedule; inevitably, the work involved constant consultation. The project was ably managed at UNESCO by my colleagues in the Intangible Cultural Heritage Section, to whom I as General Editor am indebted for much wise guidance. The named authors of the regional chapters have collaborated wonderfully well, and at any time of the day or night, somewhere in the world, they were working away, teasing out apparently intractable problems and inconsistencies and keeping me abreast of their progress.

They in turn have been greatly helped by a number of contributors, among whom I should particularly like to mention Gustavo Solis Fonseca, Tulio Rojas Curieux, Denny Moore and Bruna Franchetto, who have all made significant contributions to our knowledge of the language situation in South America. In Central America, too, a team of helpers worked on the project; they are named in the appropriate chapter. Of the regional editors, Tapani Salminen deserves special praise for his vigilance in spotting inconsistencies and lacunae between regions, and in helping to solve methodological and terminological issues. We have all learned a great deal from each other.

Cartographic representation of the world's endangered languages

Christopher Moseley

The first edition of this Atlas was coordinated from the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University, Canberra, by the late Professor S. A. Wurm. The school was in a unique position to record the location of languages graphically, as it had its own well-equipped cartographic department. Since then, however, there have been significant developments in the field of cartography as well as in the amount of linguistic data available. This third edition has adopted some essentially different methods of presenting a snapshot of the current state of language endangerment worldwide.

The editorial team has given a great deal of thought as to whether the location of languages should be shown by means of polygons (or areas delimited by borders), accurately corresponding in scale to the territory occupied by the language, or, as in the previous editions, by single (or in some cases multiple) points. For both the online and the printed versions of this edition, we decided in the end to retain single points of a standard size. There are several reasons for this: first, many languages in danger of disappearing are characteristically spoken over a very restricted territory, often a steadily diminishing one. Second, the shape of a polygon would imply that surrounding language(s) also occupy a distinctly shaped territory, which, however, has been omitted from these maps. Third, this in turn implies a discrete monolingualism, which is unlikely to be the case. Speakers of endangered languages are usually forced by circumstances to become fluent in one or more majority languages, for communication with larger out-groups. Fourth, and consequently, this would require an overlap between the polygons to indicate multilingualism, which would detract from the impact of the single points, in many cases clustered together in complex areas of multiple endangerment.

In its first edition, the Atlas was closely bound up with the *Red Book of Languages in Danger of Disappearing* (UNESCO, 1993), and took its name from that book. Among the stated aims of the project were: (a) the continuation of the gathering of information as to which languages are to be considered endangered, their status and the degree of urgency of their study, for transmission to the Clearing House for Scientific Information in Tokyo; (b) the collection of materials in endangered languages that had hitherto been little studied, especially those of interest for typology; and (c) the preservation and protection of languages. These and other aims were to be served by the publication of this Atlas. There was no stated intention to cover the entire globe, but rather to highlight areas of particularly acute language endangerment. The widespread nature of the problem was illustrated by taking sample areas from every continent. However, as we came to prepare this third edition, the need for a far more comprehensive coverage was obvious. Languages are under threat on every continent, and UNESCO sees the need to treat the problem as a universal one.

Linguistic geography, if we may call it that, is a young discipline and not yet a recognized branch of science. Language mapping for most of the past century has concerned itself with single countries, with particular linguistic phenomena such as dialect distribution and isoglosses. Language maps embracing whole continents and regions emerged in the last two decades of the twentieth century, but it was not until the *Atlas of the World's Languages* (Moseley and Asher, 1994) was published that a truly global coverage became possible. The cataloguing of the world's languages was pioneered by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (now, SIL International) in their regularly revised volume, the *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (Lewis, 2009); in its printed and online versions this does indeed include maps, but the maps are subsidiary to the textual identification and description of language.

Independently of this, the science of cartography was making great advances. The distribution of human languages is of course intimately bound up with topography, climate, soil conditions and a host of other factors that allow human settlement, and it has now become possible to set the distribution of languages against a topographic background that displays the conditions for human settlement, and population density. Humankind is infinitely adaptable, but obviously the most densely populated areas are those with a ready fertile access to food, and the most sparsely populated, as a rule, those with the harshest climate and most arid soil.

As with the two previous editions of this volume, a team of expert linguists from around the world was assembled to enter the latest available data on the languages of the regions into which the maps are divided. They used a new method, however. Overseen by UNESCO's Web Editor for the project, they were able to enter the data in both the online and printed editions of this Atlas directly onto maps provided by the Google Earth system. These maps have the advantage over the previous editions of giving a clear and accurate picture of the topography of the region depicted. Further, in the online edition it is possible to 'zoom in' on any particular area of linguistic interest with a great deal of variability.

Given the much greater degree of accuracy in geographical representation, the team of linguists faced several new challenges. A high level of accuracy was asked of them when pinpointing the location of a language with a standard-sized point, and of course the distribution of a language is in many cases not adequately shown by a single point. Therefore we often deemed it necessary to use multiple points to indicate the spread of a language. An endangered language might indeed be confined to just one village in some places, but in others, among nomadic peoples, say, in sparsely populated regions, their territory may cover a vast area. So we readily admit that a single point is only a rough approximation. On the other hand, experience has taught us that varying the size of the points according to population or territorial size would 'crowd out' other minority languages in multilingual areas to the detriment of the smaller ones, making the maps less legible. A mere glance at the overall world map, with its myriad of pinpoints, will prove this.

What is more informative, we decided, is to retain the system of single points, colour-coded for their degree of endangerment. If the data on the maps are sometimes difficult to interpret, the accompanying text should provide clarification. Sparsely populated regions, such as Alaska, contain numerous languages which have few speakers, and those speakers may be widely spread; in such cases, the points have been deployed to give an indication of the extent of the language. To pretend to greater accuracy than this, where so few speakers are involved, would soon make our mapping out of date.

Endangered languages are no respecters of national boundaries, and there are numerous instances in this Atlas of languages that straddle borders. On either side of a national border, the same language may be faring differently, due to economic circumstances, or national language policies, or other factors. A good example of this in Europe is the Basque language, which crosses the border of France and Spain, but is in a different state of health on either side, and is marked as such. There are of course languages that are healthy and robust in some places (and thus not shown there) but languishing elsewhere. Our editors for highland and lowland South America have, for instance, been diligent in trying to map the true situation of the Quechua/Quichua continuum, which traverses several national boundaries. (This fact is yet another argument against the use of polygons on our maps.) And where different varieties of the same language are pinpointed separately, we have tried as far as possible to distinguish them with appropriate and recognizable designations.

For each threatened language we have attempted to provide some basic data for the user (more detailed, of course, in the online edition): geographical coordinates of latitude and longitude; the name in most common use; alternate names (where necessary, in alternate scripts); the number of speakers and the date of the census when this was last ascertained; a textual description of the location; and the ISO-639 code. This internationally recognized method of identifying languages by a unique three-letter standard code, created by the International Standards Organization (ISO), was applied by the publishers of the *Ethnologue*, SIL. The coding is necessary because several widely disparate languages may bear the same name or confusingly similar names. What, for instance, is meant by the language name 'Tonga'? Is it a Bantu language of Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, a minority language in Thailand or the national language of the island state of Tonga? It is all of these, and separate codes allocated to these languages obviate the confusion. Sources of information are also given as fully as possible. This Atlas aims to provide an accurate record of the state of humanity's fragile resource, language, in its most precarious situations, as of the year 2009. It is a constantly changing situation and our methods are geared towards keeping it under constant review in the coming years.

Our contributors have not used the ISO-639 codes unquestioningly, however. In many cases we found that the same code is given to two languages that we know to be distinct; on the other hand, two codes may have been assigned in the past to what prove, with better knowledge, to be one and the same language. We have made use of the coding to the best of our ability, but we hope that our findings will help to correct some misdesignations.

Where the distribution of threatened minority languages is relatively dense (in West Africa or the Himalayas, for example), the topography (mountains and valleys, difficult terrain) also lends itself to the presence of discrete speech communities and therefore their representation by single points may be unambiguous and uncontroversial. But this may also mean that the language, though spoken by few people, is stable and secure, and does not earn a place in the Atlas. Where the speech community is spread over a wide area, unimpeded by topographical obstacles, however, such as in Siberia, much of North America and the southern part of South America, the representation by this system is problematic, and we must frankly admit that our mapping method is a compromise. By their nature, endangered languages tend to have small populations, and these populations are likely to be multilingual – speaking the majority regional or national language, and very often other adjacent minority languages as well. Multilingualism is a factor we cannot show on a map with our method, though it is discussed at various points in the accompanying text. We are all well aware of the problem and the need for compromise. To highlight the issue, I shall quote a question put by one of our regional editors to the designer of the input system:

> *A single point for a language spoken in a single village would be fine, but a single point or a few points for a language spoken across many thousands of square kilometres would make that language appear to be very poorly represented: for example, Yup'ik Eskimo, Inuit, Cree, varieties of Quechua, Arabic, etc. In Argentina, for example, how will you be able to distinguish where Mapudungu (Mapuche) ends from areas with no speakers of anything (or of only Spanish)? In northern Argentina, how can we show where Wichí ends (that is, the extent of its territory) and where Spanish is the only language? In North America, how do we show that Navajo covers a large geographical area, but Hopi only a small one?*

These very valid concerns required a considered response. Apart from the problem of representing multilingualism within an area presented as ostensibly monolingual, there is the additional issue of the notion of ancestral territory. In certain parts of the world, notably North America but also Australia and elsewhere, populations have been moved from their traditional lands to reservations, usually with clearly defined boundaries. To merely indicate these boundaries, or alternatively to show the ancestral lands, would ultimately be a disservice to the speakers, as it would not show their true current situation. It might give the reader a false picture of the health and vigour of fast-dwindling languages.

For these and other practical reasons, we decided to retain the 'point' system used in the previous editions, but to greatly increase the number of languages covered and to carefully monitor and, where necessary, revise the indication of the level of endangerment. We acknowledge the shortcomings of this selective mapping, but our overriding aim has been to highlight the presence of the world's most threatened languages, irrespective of the area they cover. As an extreme example of scattered versus concentrated speech communities, we might cite Tundra Nenets and Tundra Enets in Siberia: the former is found sparsely settled over several thousand square kilometres; the latter is now confined to one village.

What the reader will not find on these maps are pidgin and trade languages. These 'languages of wider intercultural communication', as they are sometimes called, come into being and fade away over time as the need for them as a bridge between mutually unintelligible languages rises and falls. They are by nature second languages for their speakers, and so the question of 'number of first-language speakers' does not arise. Apart from the extreme difficulty of mapping such naturally mobile languages by means of fixed points, the data on their use are extremely fluid, and we have thus consciously omitted them. Furthermore, the Atlas aims at emphasizing diversity rather than homogeneity, in parallel with the avowed UNESCO aim of recording the world's biodiversity, and drawing a direct parallel between the conservation of diversity in nature and that in human culture. Pidgins and trade languages are an interesting and important phenomenon, however, and are discussed where appropriate in the text.

Creoles (mixed languages that have become first languages) are a different matter, and where they are endangered, we have tried to record them. In many parts of the world, however, the development of a creole implies the extinction and replacement of one or more indigenous languages by one with a wider speaker base (but not always: they may also arise from the mixing of different immigrant populations).

Nor have we dealt with the issue of sign languages, with one notable exception in sub-Saharan Africa. Sign languages for the deaf are indeed highly diverse, and cogent arguments can be made for their endangerment, but they are typically used over wider areas than most endangered spoken languages, and their attrition can be attributed to non-linguistic factors including technical innovations such as cochlear implants.

It might be argued that we have neglected to indicate in these maps a very important factor in language maintenance, namely literacy, as mentioned in the Introduction to this edition. The presence of a written form of an indigenous language will usually contribute to its preservation, enhance its prestige relative to other languages, make the language transmissible to unseen generations and locations, and thus ensure its future. Unfortunately the issue is not clear-cut, and although we might have devised a method for indicating literacy among the speaker populations in our symbol-and-colour coding system, too often, in the available data, mother-tongue literacy and second- or majority-language literacy are confused. Some endangered languages, such as Sorbian in Germany, do have a literary standard (in this case, two distinct standards) and a high degree of mother-tongue literacy, but this has not prevented its endangerment. Perhaps it has delayed its extinction.

This issue is discussed at greater length in the individual regional chapters, but in ethnically diverse countries with low incomes and low educational opportunities among the endangered speaker communities, education through a wider medium than the mother tongue is the norm rather than the exception. This situation is not likely to change within a generation despite the advocacy of UNESCO and many educators and governments. It is hoped, however, that the Atlas will contribute to an awareness of the problem of mother-tongue illiteracy so that it can be better monitored in future editions.

The distinction between language and dialect is an intractable question and we will not pretend that there are any easy answers. Our regional editors have been faced with numerous questions and decisions around this issue. Within a generally robust and widespread language with a written standard, such as Arabic, for example, should the Atlas include varieties that are universally regarded as dialects but are undergoing attrition? Is a 'language' that crosses national boundaries a 'dialect' on the other side of the border from where you are standing? Objective criteria can be applied, of course – common vocabulary, mutual intelligibility, grammatical and morphological analyses, measured in percentages – but in too many instances, not enough is known or agreed, so inevitably our concept of 'language' and 'dialect' remains elastic, and our regional editors have used their discretion. Speakers of dialects will tend to write in the literary standard, as they were taught at school, however much their own speech may depart from its norms, and to take this standard as a benchmark for the 'correct' language.

Yet another cartographic problem arises with non-territorial 'diaspora' languages. These are languages of international distribution that have proved impossible to map accurately or comprehensively, such as Romani and Yiddish. Although it would be possible to map some of the locations of these languages, they would not tell the full story and would be mere tokens. There are also some, such as Plautdietsch and Ladino, which have migrated far from their original homelands but still occupy discrete and identifiable settlements that can be mapped. (These languages are discussed in the relevant chapters below.)

The regional editors of this volume have tried wherever possible to use the latest and most authoritative available data on census figures, language classification and locations. While Member States of UNESCO are all referred to on the maps by their official names, the data presented have not relied on the sanction of those governments, but are the responsibility of the editors and their contributors. Sources are cited as comprehensively as possible for all the data.

This third edition of the *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* is a new and pioneering work in many respects, but most particularly in terms of cartography. Preparation of the maps for the online version was a rapid learning curve for the contributing regional editors and their assistants, and I should like to record my sincere thanks to them all for their patience and forbearance and willingness to cooperate in meeting a tight publication schedule.

This is an ongoing project, and there can be no definitive final edition as long as human beings are speaking animals. Readers are invited to point out any errors of fact or omissions so that they can be rectified in future editions.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Matthias Brenzinger and Herman Batibo

Sub-Saharan Africa includes about one-third of the world's languages. Today, Africans still communicate in over 2,000 languages that represent a significant part of the world's language diversity and display great typological variation.

Up to 10 per cent of the African languages – especially those spoken by small speech communities – may disappear within the next hundred years. Most of them are among the 2,500 or so languages included in this Atlas. Over 100 other languages exist only by name, which is why they have been omitted from our endangered language overview.

In addition to those small speech communities scattered over the continent, there are high-risk areas for languages and their speakers. The most widespread threat to African language diversity, however, has still not been documented adequately by scholars and has also been left out of this survey: the slow drift of hundreds of languages whenever genetically related languages are in contact. Batibo (2005), for example, describes Zaramo as slowly giving way to Swahili in spite of its ethnic population of over 200,000 people. Not even the speakers themselves are aware of the loss of their languages, and African languages still generally considered to be spoken by 100,000 people might in fact have almost disappeared.

In contrast, quite a number of major African languages are vital and are even gaining speakers: some by being acquired as additional languages, others by spreading at the expense of African vernaculars. In general, English and French – the ex-colonial languages for most of the continent – are not displacing African languages, at least not at this point in time. It is African languages that are replacing other African languages.

The African language market

The continental language market consists of more than 2,000 ethnic languages, i.e. vernaculars spoken as first languages by African speech communities. The approximately 100 international, national, regional and local lingua francas, i.e. media of wider or inter-ethnic communication, are generally acquired as additional languages and some of them are spoken by several million people.

The mother tongues of Africans are generally African languages, if we consider Afrikaans and the various creoles among them. Languages that are employed as lingua francas are either African vernaculars that have expanded beyond their ethnic groups, such as Hausa (West Africa), Wolof (Senegal) and Amharic (Ethiopia), or pidgins and creoles. The latter are of two basic types, namely those based on African languages, such as Lingala (mainly Democratic Republic of the Congo and Congo) and Kituba (Democratic Republic of the Congo), and those based on European languages, such as Krio (Sierra Leone) and Nigerian Pidgin English (Nigeria), as well as the different variants of French (Côte d'Ivoire, Cameroon, etc.). Many of these pidgin languages are not only gaining speakers through urbanization and other forms of modern mobility, but increasingly receiving recognition. In Nigeria, Nigerian Pidgin English has developed into a creole and is replacing other African languages as a new mother tongue. Pidgins and creoles are the youngest and fastest-growing languages on the continent and will play important roles as replacing languages.

If, in the 1960s, European languages were commonly acquired in sub-Saharan Africa as additional languages, mainly by members of the elites, this is no longer the general rule today. In countries with a strong urbanization rate, like Gabon in Central Africa, French has become a lingua franca spoken by everybody and even a mother tongue for many children in cities. The large number of African vernaculars have survived for several reasons, including the still prevailing subsistence economy, but also because of widespread poverty and the marginalization of rural communities. The job market is still very limited and people usually make their living within their communities. Community structures in pressurized social units generally demand that their members conform to social norms, with proficiency in the heritage language being a basic requirement.

African societies and individuals are commonly multilingual; many people use more than four or five languages in their daily lives. The multilingual arrangements in which different languages are assigned to specific domains and functions are still fairly stable. From their individual language repertoires, speakers may pick different languages for communicating at home, at the market, at school, at church or in the mosque.

The contexts of language displacement

In sub-Saharan Africa, not only languages but often the speakers themselves are threatened by external forces such as military, economic, religious, cultural or educational pressures. Some of these external pressures develop into internal forces, such as a community's negative attitude towards its own language, or into a general decline of group identity. Together, these forces jeopardize the intergenerational transmission of linguistic and cultural traditions. Poverty and marginalization are often associated with ethnolinguistic minorities and their languages. For that reason, parents in these communities often decide to bring up their children in other languages than their own. By doing so, they hope to overcome discrimination, attain equality of opportunity and derive economic benefits for themselves and their children.

The scenarios in which African languages are at present being replaced range from subnational to national and regional contexts, and finally to environments that are formed by processes associated with globalization. To understand the dynamics of language displacement, it is necessary to consider the specific contexts in which language shifts occur.

In a regional or international context, African languages of wider communication have spread as languages of trade, work, the army or religion, or along with rapid urbanization. In West Africa, change in religious affiliation, for example, has resulted in shifts to new mother tongues, languages that are associated with a new religion: Hausa in Nigeria and neighbouring countries; and, further west, Dyula, which spread along with Islam on a wider regional scale. Economically disadvantaged communities seem to be better off as part of a wider, Hausa- or Dyula-speaking Muslim society. In East Africa, Swahili is another language that has long been associated with Islam. It is evident from many of its expressions that the language is one of the agents of the spread of the faith. Islamized communities in East Africa often shift to Swahili and abandon their ethnic languages. As a result of an improved infrastructure that allows for greater mobility, Bambara in West Africa, Lingala in Central Africa and many other regional languages seem to expand and grow stronger by the day.

On the level of national states, governments obviously rely on the languages in which they run their countries. National majority languages are used in administration and politics, science and education, as well as literature and the media. After independence, the governments of sub-Saharan African countries generally declared the ex-colonial languages, namely English, French and Portuguese, as the official state languages. This policy is still in force today, with governments arguing that these foreign languages are non-ethnic and allow access to the world. By using them, African governments have tried to put into practice the nineteenth-century European ideology of 'one nation – one people – one language'. In the same context of national states, however, we also find African languages that are established as 'official languages' or at least as officially recognized 'national languages'. In such settings, where national loyalty is associated with speaking the national tongue, ethnolinguistic minorities are frequently unable to resist these outside pressures.

Swahili in the United Republic of Tanzania, Setswana in Botswana, Sango in the Central African Republic, Wolof in Senegal and Bambara in Mali, to list but a few, are among the few African languages that have developed into media of nationwide communication. Swahili and Setswana, in particular, have been described as threats to all other languages of the respective national states. Thus, Swahili threatens more than 130 Tanzanian languages, while Setswana does the same to about 30 languages spoken in Botswana. The pressure from these two languages is subtle, however, and the effects on language endangerment are difficult to ascertain. The replacement of languages in these contexts is more of a drift than a language shift. It will probably not even be noticed until it is too late. Very few languages are considered endangered in the United Republic of Tanzania, although it could be argued that a vast number in the coastal hinterland are already losing their younger speakers to Swahili.

Sudan is not only the largest, but also one of the linguistically most diverse countries on the African continent. Well over 100 languages are spoken, in addition to which, Arabic has been used as a lingua franca in many parts of the country during the past two centuries. Since independence, the national policy has aimed at 'Sudanization', implying a reduction of ethnic and linguistic multiplicity. Today, a great number of speech communities are dispersed, many to urban areas. The younger members no longer speak their heritage languages, but Arabic instead. Although a more liberal policy was officially declared in 2004, there have been few real changes in regard to the policy of 'Sudanization'.[1]

Most African minority languages are still threatened in subnational contexts, and language displacement in sub-Saharan Africa occurs mostly in these contexts. Such language shift takes place in local contact situations and for quite different reasons, some of which are mentioned briefly below.

African languages replace African languages

On a subnational or local level, language shifts in Africa seem to occur simultaneously with shifts to value systems of other African communities. Over the past decades, several hunter-gatherer communities have assimilated and taken on the languages of pastoral societies. In these societies, the possession of livestock is of primary importance and hunter-gatherers are looked down upon as people without cattle. Former hunter-gatherer communities, such as the Yaaku, Aasax and Akie, have abandoned their heritage languages and adopted the Maa language along with the pastoral way of life. The younger generations of these former hunter-gatherers are pastoralists and now share the prejudice towards 'poor people without cattle', in other words, they look down on their own ancestors, and sometimes even their elders.

Each language shift has its own unique setting, history and dynamics. According to Cronk (2004), bride-wealth inflation, for example, has led the once-foraging Yaaku to change first their subsistence patterns, and finally their ethnic and linguistic identity. When Yaaku girls began marrying neighbouring pastoralists, the parents received livestock as bride-wealth, not only beehives as had been the Yaaku custom. This made it necessary for young Yaaku men to acquire cattle, too, since Yaaku fathers demanded cattle as bride-wealth from then on. Hunter-gatherers were considered poor, and in order to found families, young Yaaku men had to become pastoralists and adopt the Maa language. Other examples can be mentioned, for instance, in Gabon, where hunter-gatherer communities such as the Babongo have switched to the languages of their neighbours (Masango, Tsogo, Simba, etc.), the Bakoya to Ungom, the Makina (Shiwa) to Fang, and the Sekiani to Mpongwe.

In similar contexts, small communities are currently taking over the languages of their immediate neighbours, languages that are often themselves spoken only by small speech communities. In southern Ethiopia, 'Ongota (Birale) is being replaced by Ts'amakko (Ts'amay), Kwegu (Koegu) by Mursi, Shabo by Majang and Harro by Bayso. Language is the main indicator for group identity, and the 'Ongota people today survive as Ts'amay; of course, in order to become Ts'amay they need to speak Ts'amakko.

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1. *More information on the linguistic situation in Sudan is included in the chapter on North Africa and the Middle East.*

Other subnational contexts in which languages disappear locally are triggered by drastic changes in the physical environment. The East African Rift Valley runs all the way from Ethiopia to South Africa and has many lakes on its valley bottom. Several distinct languages have exclusively been spoken on islands found in some of these lakes, but it seems that they might soon disappear. The introduction of new fish species for commercial production has resulted in a dramatic decrease of tilapia and other indigenous fish species in the lakes; the latter used to make up the main catch in the subsistence fishing of the islanders. Zay people in Lake Zway, Bayso and Harro in Lake Abaya of Ethiopia, and Elmolo in Lake Turkana of Kenya left their islands because fishing no longer provided a living. In their new environments, the children of these communities are growing up together with dominant neighbours. Language shift has already led to the extinction of their language in the case of Elmolo, and serious threats to language transmission have been described for Zay and Harro. Bayso is still spoken, but no longer by all children, and this small speech community will have to deal with increased pressure in the future.

The correlation between language and religious affiliation involving regional languages has already been mentioned, but there are also local settings in which this factor leads to the abandonment of languages. The Jeri leatherworkers live among the Sienare Senufo in the northern part of Côte d'Ivoire. The community has abandoned its own language, and Kastenholz (1998) found that the Jeri have adopted two different languages as their new mother tongues according to their religious affiliation: Sienare by the non-Muslims, and Manding by the Muslim Jeri.

As already mentioned, African governments continue to use the languages of the ex-colonial powers. These are still the prevailing languages in national administration, in secondary and higher education, and in modern literature. However, some of the stongest threats to African linguistic diversity are probably due to other factors.

Threats to linguistic diversity in Africa

This Atlas provides an overview of endangered and recently vanished languages. The maps of sub-Saharan Africa show a high concentration of endangered languages north of and along the Equator, more or less in the geographical centre of the continent. This high occurrence of endangered languages is mainly due to the fact that it is here that the greatest number of African languages are spoken.

Threats to linguistic diversity, however, are by no means restricted to the number of threatened languages, as their genetic status is obviously of crucial importance. The extinction of languages belonging to small language families and the disappearance of linguistic isolates have a serious impact on overall linguistic diversity.

In 1963 Joseph Greenberg classified the African languages into four major phyla – Niger-Congo, Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Khoisan – by claiming a genetic relationship for all members belonging to one of these 'super families' (Greenberg, 1963). Although most scholars still use these four units, the validity of the genetic claim has been challenged. Genetic groupings, which may rightly be referred to as families, have more recently been broken down into much smaller units.

The entire Khoisan phylum, today commonly used as an areal-typological unit, must be considered endangered, as most Khoisan languages are now spoken only by small and marginalized former hunter-gatherer communities. Their living conditions no longer allow them sustenance in their traditional ways of life. Thus, acculturation and language shift are widespread among most of the speech communities.

Other endangered language families are the Kordofanian languages in Sudan and the Kuliak languages in Uganda, as all member languages are spoken by small communities, who live in quite hostile environments.

Among the endangered or extinct languages that are considered unclassified linguistic isolates, a large number are known only by name, and for that reason have not been included in our overview. Studies are available for 'Ongota and Shabo in southern Ethiopia, Hadza in the United Republic of Tanzania, Laal in Chad, and Kwadi in Angola; the last of these, however, became extinct over fifty years ago.

The outlook

In sub-Saharan Africa, languages of ethnolinguistic minorities have survived in large numbers because of continued marginalization of their speakers. But what has saved them until now is about to turn against them. Nettle and Romaine (2000) consider lack of access to economic resources to be the fundamental determinant of language shift and language death in modern times.

Even rural communities in remote areas of Africa no longer exist in isolation, and probably very few did so in the past. Poverty is not only a growing threat to languages spoken by ethnolinguistic minorities, but may become the prime criterion for abandoning one's own language. If a community's own languages are not made economically and socially valuable, it will abandon them as soon as it has the opportunity to make progress in modern economic and socio-political life. In order to maintain and perpetuate Africa's linguistic diversity, the speakers of these languages must find valid economic and cultural reasons for keeping their ancestral languages as vital media in natural everyday communication with their offspring.

Endangered African sign languages

African sign languages are still rarely documented, and the following information derives mainly from the works of Nyst (2007) and Kamei (2006). Local African sign languages have developed in urban as well as rural settings, and with very few exceptions, such as Hausa Sign Language in northern Nigeria, they are severely threatened. Formal deaf education is conducted in national sign languages that are based on foreign, imported sign languages, mostly American Sign Language (ASL). Just as with spoken languages, these national sign languages are spreading at the expense of local African versions. Especially with the introduction of boarding schools, in which children no longer live within their own communities but come together from all parts of the country, deaf education in national sign languages puts heavy pressure on local sign languages.

Some African sign languages were established in urban settings: examples are Mbour Sign Language in the town of Mbour in Senegal, Mali Sign Language in Bamako and Hausa Sign Language in the town of Kano in northern Nigeria. Others developed in rural settings where a high incidence of deafness made signing the natural form of communication, even with hearing members of the community, such as in south-east Ghana with Adamorobe Sign Language. Finally, there are local African sign languages used by small communities or extended families, such as Nanabin Sign Language in Ghana, Bura Sign Language in northern Nigeria and Tebul Ure Sign Language in the Dogon region of Mali; the last two have been briefly documented by Blench and Nyst (2003).

North Africa and the Middle East

Salem Mezhoud and Yamina El Kirat El Allame

The grouping of the languages of North Africa and the Middle East in a common zone may at first seem paradoxical, except insofar as Arabic has been used as the means of intercultural communication among the otherwise disparate populations of this vast area. It is more of a geopolitical or religio-political region than a homogeneous linguistic one. If only for practical reasons, and for a better understanding of the linguistic situation, a more relevant methodology for analysing endangerment in this area might be to group the languages of North Africa with those of the Sahel subregion of West Africa. Not only are the endangered languages more closely related as the African component of the Afro-Asiatic family (as opposed to the Semitic family) but many of the languages spoken in the Sahel belong to the Tamazight (Berber) group.

Data collection

North Africa

No North African state has ever organized sociolinguistic studies or included the geographical distribution of languages in a population census, and attempts to gather language statistics are often discouraged. Nor did the colonial administrations ever concern themselves with linguistic details even at the height of the policy of 'divide and rule'. The only available statistics were estimates by linguists who, with rare exceptions, were neither equipped with solid census tools nor backed by official authority and bureaucratic assistance. These rough estimates continue to serve as the basis for all claims about language distribution in North Africa.

Historically, the Berber language was spoken in an uninterrupted chain from Egypt to the Canary Islands. As a result of geographical and political-administrative divisions, it has progressively given birth to numerous dialects with varying degrees of mutual intelligibility. The word Berber is an exonym, applied by others. The endonym is Tamazight, which until recently was only used by and applied to a few communities, most notably in the Middle Atlas in Morocco. It is also used in different forms (Tamaheq, Tamajeq, Tamasheq) in the Algerian Sahara and in Niger and Mali. Since the 1960s, the name Tamazight has been increasingly used to supplant Berber both among linguists and among the populations of North Africa. The masculine form Amazigh is used mostly as an adjective (for example, the Amazigh people speak Tamazight).

Tamazight, like most of the languages in the region, is commonly considered a member of the Afro-Asiatic family. Before the coining of the term 'Afro-Asiatic' by Joseph Greenberg (see Greenberg, 1963), the misleading term 'Hamito-Semitic' and the erroneous designation 'Hamites' were sometimes applied to the Berber language and people. While the Semitic languages are a linguistically well-established group, the other components of the Afro-Asiatic family do not form a subfamily and the links between them are more tenuous.

The most common estimates of current speakers of Tamazight put the number at about 40 per cent of the total population in Morocco, 17 per cent in Algeria, 1 per cent in Tunisia, 5 per cent in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and a fraction in Mauritania. Rather than being based on any new attempts to collect valid information, however, the various claims are merely new interpretations of old material. Even where data are obtained from professionals, they suffer from the absence of real investigations.

A quick review of the colonial literature (Mezhoud, 1996) for Algeria showed figures adding up to about 60 per cent of Berber-speakers at the end of the nineteenth century. It became clear that the sometimes newly arrived metropolitan bureaucrats, with very limited local knowledge, tended to distinguish between 'Berbers' and 'Kabyles', the latter being the better known of all the Berber groups. This contributed to a serious underestimate of the number of Tamazight-speakers. The subsequent discovery of the large numbers of Berbers in Morocco, when the kingdom became a French protectorate, merely added to the confusion.

The handful of rigorous scholars such as Andre Basset (see Basset, 1952) who would later try to obtain a true picture of the linguistic situation could neither escape this legacy nor obtain the means to cover such a vast territory. Today, though there is no real consensus, it is widely believed that Tamazight-speakers constitute between 60 per cent and 80 per cent of the Moroccan population and may well constitute between 45 per cent and 55 per cent of the Algerian population. Hard though it is to prove in the absence of a real census, this claim has no less validity than the more familiar figure of between 17 per cent and 20 per cent. One important factor in support of the higher numbers is the fact that large urban centres with substantial proportions of Tamazight-speakers such as Algiers, Casablanca and Constantine are usually not taken into account because their populations are bilingual (contrary to largely monolingual Agadir, Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia).

While making substantial use of existing published material from previous and more recent generations, this Atlas has also relied on a number of unpublished sources, local contacts, research by the authors and a growing number of internet-based sources. The profusion of Tamazight societies and associations, both in North Africa and among immigrant communities in Europe and North America, has also provided opportunities to collect and corroborate information. It must be stressed, nevertheless, that although a great deal of effort has gone towards increasing the degree of accuracy of the data, the figures provided are only estimates.

The Middle East

Much of the data relating to the Middle East is now provided by organizations in the diaspora and a handful of international scholars and activists. Because of the volatile situation in many countries of the region, much of the published material is out of date, sometimes as soon as it leaves the printing press. Diaspora organizations have been able to supply more up-to-date information and provide contacts with representatives of communities with first-hand or recent knowledge of language endangerment. While the existing data are often fairly accurate, the rapidly changing situation means that they have constantly to be re-evaluated.

Background to the linguistic situation in North Africa

With the arrival of Islam, Arabic gained a foothold in North Africa, albeit within limited confines. Arabic became the language of scholarship and religion in much the same way that Latin did in Europe. With the withdrawal of the Muslims from Spain in 1492, North Africa experienced a relative cultural decline. Classical Arabic fell into disuse, while colloquial Arabic began to spread throughout the region to the detriment of Tamazight. With the growth of urban centres during the colonial era, this movement continued.

Although the overwhelming majority of the population of North Africa is of Tamazight origin, all the countries of the region, on achieving independence, chose to define themselves officially as Arab states. A sizeable proportion of the population, particularly in Algeria, Morocco and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, felt doubly disenfranchised by this policy. First, the only 'national' or official language permitted – classical or standard Arabic – was introduced from the Middle East, although it had hardly been in use in North Africa since the sixteenth century and bears little resemblance to the varieties of Arabic spoken there. Second, Tamazight-speakers were discouraged from using their own language and government policies were adopted that accelerated its decline. In Mauritania, Pulaar, Soninke and Wolof experienced a similar fate.

Tamazight was not taught at school or university and had limited or no access to the media. When local radio stations carried programmes in the Amazigh languages, their broadcasts were gradually decreased and sometimes the power and reach of the transmitters were reduced. Organizers of local concerts were obliged to include Arabic-language acts in their programmes and conferences touching on Tamazight culture were prohibited. It was the cancellation of one such conference in Algeria on ancient Tamazight poetry by the scholar and novelist Mouloud Mammeri that triggered the uprising of April 1980 that became known as the Amazigh (or Berber) Spring.

The Amazigh Spring launched a movement for the revitalization of Tamazight culture that spread first to Morocco and then to virtually every country in the region, including Niger and Mali. As a result, reforms have been introduced in recent years, contributing to a lasting solution to the problem of the endangerment of Tamazight.

Endangerment and revitalization of Tamazight

There is a recognized linguistic unity between all the languages of the Amazigh sphere (Chaker, 1995). The dominance and/or prestige of other languages (French, Arabic) have for a long time isolated many communities from each other and resulted in the development of specific phonological features and, in some cases, slight syntactic differences. Most of the varieties are mutually intelligible.

Most of the endangered languages of North Africa discussed here are sometimes referred to collectively as the Amazigh or Berber group. They constitute pockets of surviving but quickly disappearing linguistic communities surrounded by speakers of North African Arabic, who are themselves Arabized former Tamazight-speakers. These speech communities vary in importance, from the relatively large ones (several million speakers) such as Tacelhit, Tarifit, Taqbaylit (Kabyle) and Tacawit to the medium-sized groups (Tanfusit, Tamzabit) and the smaller pockets (Tayurart, Zenaga).

In Algeria and Morocco growing mobilization, especially among larger language groups, has raised awareness about language endangerment and preservation. This can be appreciated at both the political and the grassroots level. At the political level, initiatives have been undertaken in both countries. Among these initiatives is the granting of ‘national language’ status to Tamazight in Algeria, a decision now enshrined in the Algerian Constitution. It is hoped that this will be followed up with concrete, legal or practical measures (such as the wider use of Tamazight in the administration, the media and education). In Morocco, Tamazight is now officially taught in schools, though not used, still, as a language of scientific study or research (El Kirat El Allame, 2008). The creation of university and research centres, the best known of which is the Institut Royal de la Culture Amazigh (IRCAM, Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture) in Rabat, Morocco, and small centres at the universities of Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia (Bgayet) in Kabylia, Algeria, is a first step towards the development (not yet achieved) of higher education and research at national level in the two countries.

Despite the limited resources, it is thought that some of the larger Tamazight groups, in particular Taqbaylit (Kabyle), are no longer endangered or vulnerable. The Kabyle speech community, for example, has reached such a high level of awareness and mobilization that revitalization is taking place The situation is different in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Tunisia and Mauritania, where Nefoussa, Zouara, Sokna, Aoujila, Ghadamès and Zenaga are endangered, sometimes severely endangered. Even in Chenoua (Tacenwit) in Algeria, where a relatively high level of awareness exists and revitalization activities take place, endangerment is a reality. This is also the case with Tamzabit and Taznatit (Gourara, Touat). The languages of the Tuareg – Tamahaq/Tahaggart in southern Algeria, Tamajeq and Tamaceq in Niger and Mali, and, above all, the remaining pocket of Tahaggart in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya – are vulnerable, mainly as a result of drought, conflict and displacement. In Mauritania, Zenaga, Nemadi and the language of Imeraguen are definitely endangered and may become critically endangered if the current social and cultural stigma attached to them is maintained and the languages continue to be excluded from the public sphere.

This edition of the Atlas introduces some languages that are never mentioned in the literature on language distribution in North Africa: Domari, which may still be spoken in Tunisia and Algeria, though the data are incomplete and over thirty years old; and Korandje, a hybrid of Tamazight and Soninke in southern Algeria, which has recently been the object of some interest among linguists. We also include Tetserret, a hitherto little-known variety of Tamazight, which even though spoken at the heart of Tamajeq territory in Niger is closer to northern dialects and perhaps to Zenaga.

Language endangerment in Sudan[1]

Sudan has been the scene of what is often considered the world's longest civil war. It has also hosted one the world's largest humanitarian operations, Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS). While the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) has brought stability and the beginning of reconstruction in the South, Darfur is in turmoil. With 1.5 million deaths in the South, 4 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) and 500,000 refugees, the entire Southern Sudanese population has been deeply affected by the conflict.

This situation increases language endangerment in a number of ways. Displacement has occurred in a variety of patterns (long-distance, repeated displacement) that may magnify the rate of endangerment. As IDPs are dispersed throughout the country, they typically acquire the language of the host communities and at the same time reduce the use of their own language. IDP camps usually bring together people from many different communities, and new forms of communication are developed that may involve multilingualism but also creolization. In the case of repeated displacement, IDPs do not always seek shelter among the same hosts and may therefore acquire yet more languages. While multilingualism and creolization do not necessarily affect adults, children may not adequately acquire their mother tongue. This is especially likely in cases of protracted displacement. In northern cities such as Khartoum, there may be a tendency for children to use Arabic more than their mother tongue.

For a whole decade, between 1989 and 1999, part of the Nuba mountains in South Kordofan was isolated from the rest of the world by a Sudanese Government blockade. The humanitarian situation was very poor, but paradoxically, this isolation may have reduced the degree of endangerment of the Nuba languages. Two factors have contributed to this, both in the South and in the Nuba mountains. First, the conflict has severely interrupted children's schooling. This has, of course, had negative effects on their education, but since the schooling would have been in Arabic, the state-supported language, the interruption has also slowed down the threat of Arabic overwhelming local cultures and languages. Second, when the education system was restarted by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement in 1996, all schooling was in English, a language that posed no threat to Nuba languages. The vitality of these languages was apparent during a visit to the Nuba mountains (Heiban, Nagorban, Dilling) in 1999, at the height of the blockade (UNCERO, 1999). The situation in the area under government control may be different, especially with the prevalence of Arabic and the large variety of languages spoken in the IDP settlements and the so-called peace camps or peace villages.

It has not been possible to assess the real degree of endangerment of Sudanese languages, owing both to the sheer numbers involved (134 according to the *Ethnologue*) and the protracted conflict. Furthermore, the returnees after the 2005 CPA make the situation more complex and the data harder to collect. A fraction of these languages (just over thirty) have been reported in this chapter with varying degrees of endangerment. Once the stabilization of Southern Sudan (including the Nuba mountains) is confirmed and reconstruction well under way, the new authorities of Southern Sudan may include linguistic data in their censuses and a better picture of the linguistic situation and the level of endangerment may then be possible.

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[1] *Sudan sits on the linguistic map in both northern and sub-Saharan Africa. For more details, see the chapter on sub-Saharan Africa in this Atlas.*

Heightened endangerment in the Middle East

The numerous conflicts in the Middle East have taken a serious toll on the minority languages of the region. The religious-linguistic minorities in three countries in particular – the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Syrian Arabic Republic and Iraq – have experienced grave problems during such conflicts. The Iran-Iraq war (1980–88) cut deeply into minority communities through forcible recruitment into the armies of both countries and it significantly reduced the size of language communities. Some 60,000 Assyrians were killed on both sides of the conflict. Assyrians, who are Aramaic-speaking Christians, were persecuted by the Saddam Hussein regime and a flicker of hope entered their community when Saddam fell and Iraq was occupied by US forces in March 2003. Increasingly, however, Assyrians began to be targeted by insurgents, and as a result, 150,000 Assyrians are reported to have left Iraq since the beginning of the US occupation.

One of the languages that has suffered most in Iraq is Mandaic. After being forcibly displaced from the southern marshes by the Saddam Hussein regime, Mandaeans have later been the subject of persecution by insurgents in the wake of the US occupation. Of the 30,000 to 60,000 Mandaeans who lived in Iraq in the 1990s, a large number left the country after 2003, and only some 6,000 to 7,000 are said to have remained; the number of them who speak Mandaic is much smaller.

Iraqi Kurdish may be the only language to have benefited from the 2003 occupation. With the establishment of the Kurdistan Regional Government in northern Iraq and significant autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan, Iraqi Kurdish may now be said to be safe. The Kurdish language in both the Syrian Arabic Republic and the Islamic Republic of Iran is vulnerable, however. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, apart from Kurdish, the Balochi language (of a community of about 3 million) is also vulnerable. Syriac and other varieties of Aramaic, and Armenian, spoken by about 200,000 people in the Syrian Arab Republic, are also vulnerable.

The emigration of Jews from the Middle East and North Africa since 1948 has brought to Israel a large number of languages and language varieties spoken by Jews in their countries of origin. Judeo-Iraqi and Judeo-Yemeni are still spoken in Israel but are endangered as the younger generations do not learn them. North African Jews have brought at least three languages to Israel: Judeo-Arabic of Tunisia, a distinct language described in the outstanding book by Cohen (1975), and, above all, Judeo-Arabic of Morocco (Judeo-Moroccan) and Judeo-Berber. These are now extinct in North Africa. Statistical information on the survival of languages and varieties among resident and exiled populations is difficult to come by, and some of our conclusions about the status of individual languages have been through personal communications.

War and other conflicts are among the most important causes of language endangerment, as can be seen clearly in the Middle East and North Africa. In some cases, however, conflict and confrontation have had the effect of raising awareness of the importance of language as a vehicle of culture and identity. In North Africa this has triggered community-based revitalization initiatives and may have slowed language endangerment.

Europe and the Caucasus

Tapani Salminen

The territory of Europe together with the Caucasus and Anatolia is the home of a wide range of languages, diverse with respect not only to their genetic affiliations, but also to their endangerment status. One of the area's special features is the relatively large number of non-endangered languages, most of which function as the dominant languages of nation-states, which happen to be quite numerous there. At the same time, among the many minority languages spoken in those nation-states only very few are safe in the strict sense of the word, in that they would not face heavy competition or even replacement by a dominant language within their own community.

Another specificity of the European language scene is the number of endangered languages closely related to the national languages and the literary standards based on them, to the extent that they appear in a diglossic relationship and are therefore often relegated to dialect status from a sociolinguistic perspective. The current Atlas, however, is concerned with spoken languages, and the bulk of this chapter is devoted to identifying and recognizing distinct vernaculars on the basis of linguistic criteria as opposed to the effects of administrative divisions or literary traditions.

The coverage of the languages of Europe and adjacent regions in the current Atlas is similar to their treatment in the relevant sections of the *Encyclopedia of the World's Endangered Languages* (Moseley, 2007). A major departure is that a large number of prominent minority languages regarded as 'safe' in the *Encyclopedia* are here labelled 'vulnerable'. The apparent paradox is entirely terminological, as vulnerable languages are those languages that are not immediately endangered but do not have a status equal to the dominant and majority languages. Examples of such languages include Basque, West Frisian, Moselle Franconian, Faroese, and many of the languages of the Caucasus, as well as a number of the so-called regional languages, as defined later. Indeed, of the minority languages in the area under review, only Catalan, Galician (with further qualifications described below), Tatar and Kurmanji are not regarded as endangered at all.

To be considered endangered, a language must notably have first-language speakers, which excludes pidgins such as Russenorsk, mixed or secret languages used as second languages such as Angloromani, classical languages such as Latin, artificial languages such as Esperanto and, arguably, revived languages that do not directly continue a former language tradition (see the discussion on Cornish below). Most crucially, however, dialects are not included, not because they would not represent an equally important facet of language diversity but for the simple fact that the list would be inexhaustible. There is a well-defined exception to the exclusion of dialects, discussed below, but the general guidelines for defining languages vs dialects need to be addressed first.

Languages, dialects and languages boundaries

The concept of mutual intelligibility is often cited as the main, or perhaps the only, linguistic criterion for distinguishing between languages and dialects. It is, indeed, useful in the clear-cut cases of either full mutual intelligibility, which implies a single spoken language, or at best limited comprehension, in which case separate languages are involved. In Europe in particular, the intelligibility levels between closely related varieties are often exaggerated, and there are several cases of undisputed groups of languages, for example Frisian, Mordvin and Saami, that are still sometimes referred to as single languages by ill-informed authorities or some conservative linguists. Similar instances of clearly independent minority languages nevertheless being called dialects include Gascon, Kashubian, Low Saxon and Tsakonian, to name just a few of the many examples discussed in the systematic survey below. Contrary cases, i.e. varieties with clearly sufficient mutual intelligibility to be subsumed under a single language, but described as languages on the basis of non-linguistic considerations, will also be highlighted.

The immediate problem with mutual intelligibility is that it is fully gradual, and varieties showing a moderate level of intelligibility are commonplace. Supplementary criteria are therefore required to determine the distinctiveness of the varieties under scrutiny. In the great majority of perceived borderline cases the solution is reasonably straightforward, however, and it generally amounts to the difference in the nature of language boundaries vs dialect boundaries, in other words the absence or presence of a dialect continuum.

Language boundaries (as opposed to dialect divisions) tend to have several characteristics, such as isoglosses defining the adjacent language areas through the entire length of the language boundary; innovations stopped from spreading to the other side of the language boundary; influences across the language boundary being recognizable as the result of areal contacts, for example loanwords; and speakers generally required to become bilingual to communicate on the other side of the language boundary.

From a historical point of view, language boundaries emerge through the extremely frequent and recurrent process of extinction of transitional dialects. In the context of language endangerment, a language loses ground through language shift, i.e. whole-scale replacement, even when the dominant language is closely related, while a dialect is assimilated through levelling and adaptation feature by feature. In many instances, there is a small dialect area between two language areas which shares features with both and could at least from the outset be attached to either of the larger areas; as long as the dialect area itself is geographically well-defined, however, its classification on the basis of diachronic or other criteria does not undermine the concept of unique language boundary.

There are pairs and groups of languages as defined and discussed below that are often claimed to be very close to each other, suggesting that their correct classification would be as dialects of a single language. Notable examples are Adyge and Kabard-Cherkes, Chechen and Ingush, Komi and Permyak, the Oïl languages (French), the Oc languages (except Gascon, whose classification as a dialect is simply an error) as well as Logudorese and Campidanese (Sardinian). It seems that their closeness, although real, is also often exaggerated, and many extra-linguistic considerations may influence judgements. Similar examples among non-endangered languages are the continental Scandinavian languages, Czech and Slovak or East Slavonic languages. It seems clear that inherent intelligibility is lower than the actual comprehension between speakers who have had substantial exposure to the closely related languages.

By contrast, national borders almost never match the boundaries of spoken languages, though they have an impact on perceptions, identities, literary traditions, official recognition and so on (in cases of Torne Valley Finnish, Valencian vs Catalan and Moldavian vs Romanian, to name just a few examples). Similarly, other geographical or cultural and religious divisions do not necessarily correspond to vernaculars, as is evident from Silesian or Sorbian, for example. The exclusion of cross-border communities speaking non-endangered languages is obviously an oversight with regard to the general assessment of language endangerment, but if they were included, the current maps would be much fuller and show a large number of points referring to languages endangered on one side of a border but not at all endangered on the other. It must be stated forcefully in this context that the recognition of cross-border language communities and the cultivation of local varieties, for instance to create new literary traditions, are extremely positive factors insofar as they preserve language diversity and contribute to the survival of the community in question as well as the maintenance of minority languages in general.

Minority languages closely related to the dominant languages and the literary standards based on them are technically referred to as regional languages in what follows, and their status is often intricate. They typically lack autochthonous literary standards, so that their literate speakers generally live in a situation of diglossia. From a sociolinguistic perspective, it is therefore not surprising that regional languages are referred to as dialects, but it must be emphasized that as a rule the regional languages presented below are defined as strictly on the basis of intelligibility and language boundaries as any other languages.

To give an example of a prototypical regional language, West Flemish, spoken in France, Belgium and the Netherlands, and known by a different name in each country, as well as having the bulk of the speaker community diglossic in Dutch, nevertheless possesses all the characteristics of an independent spoken language in that it appears highly unified across its language area and remains quite distinct from Dutch; many other examples follow in the systematic survey.

It must be noted, however, that in the case of a number of regional languages, an element of uncertainty remains as to their status, and Latgalian as well as South Jutish are such borderline instances. Varieties spoken in relative isolation from the main body of the language for a considerable time and showing major interference features from contact languages, technically referred to as outlying dialects, are treated on the same level as the varieties recognized as languages.

An important group with regard to the language vs dialect issue is that of the so-called Jewish languages. Taking into account various complexities, I have followed the guideline that varieties specific to Jewish communities must be distinct and independent as spoken languages, exactly like any other language, in order to be included – this only qualifies Judezmo, Yiddish and Juhur plus Corfiot Italkian as an outlying dialect of Venetan. From the cartographic point of view, non-territorial languages as well as languages with large diaspora communities pose a major and indeed an insurmountable problem. Judezmo and Yiddish as well as, even more extensively, Romani represent non-territorial languages. Of these, the Jewish languages have two map points, one of them in Israel, while Romani has been given a single point, and the locations of the points in Europe are essentially random.

Plautdietsch, Gottscheerish and several of the Aramaic languages have their map points in the original language areas despite the fact that all speakers have been displaced to distant destinations. In the case of Ubykh, since the entire nation has moved from one place to another, there are two map points, but the other Abkhaz-Adyge languages are only mapped for their home areas, despite the fact that only a minority of speakers were present there at one stage.

Unlike Plautdietsch (which, although largely spoken in the Americas, originated in Europe), the languages – or perhaps, rather, outlying dialects in the current sense – that developed from European languages in other continents are not mentioned further in this chapter. The list would include Afrikaans, Pennsylvania German, Colonia Tovar German, Hutterite German, Loreto-Ucayali Spanish and Cajun French, to name those having International Standards Organization (ISO) codes of their own.

Languages in Europe and the Caucasus

The following survey is arranged in terms of language classification, with a discussion of the endangerment problems pertinent to each.

Basque

The Basque language is probably the best-known language isolate, or single-language family, as well as one of the most widely recognized minority languages in the world. It is one of the languages that are labelled 'vulnerable' in the current Atlas.

The Uralic family

The Uralic language family consists of nine groups of closely related languages, of which Saami, Finnic, Mordvin, Mari, Permian and Hungarian are represented in Europe. The languages of the other three branches – Mansi, Khanty and Samoyed – are or were spoken in Siberia, but the area of Tundra Nenets in the Samoyed branch extends to the west of the Ural mountains, and the area of Southern Mansi also originally covered parts of Europe.

Of the eleven Saami languages, North Saami is the least endangered, and could perhaps be regarded as vulnerable in its core area in Finnmark in Norway, but across its large range its position is much weaker, so that keeping it among definitely endangered languages can also be justified. By contrast, South Saami, Lule Saami, Inari Saami, Skolt Saami and Kildin Saami are definitely if not severely endangered, although in all communities there are notable efforts to maintain the native language, so far perhaps most successfully among the Inari Saami. Ume Saami, Pite Saami and Ter Saami, on the other hand, have only a very few elderly speakers, and the last speaker of Akkala Saami, also known as Babino Saami, died in 2002, which constitutes the second most recent extinction in Europe. Language boundaries between the Saami languages are generally clear-cut and often deep, for instance the three languages spoken in Finland (North Saami, Inari Saami and Skolt Saami) differ notably from one another.

Of the ten Finnic languages, Estonian and Finnish are not endangered. Võro-Seto, Karelian and Olonetsian have speakers in the range of tens of thousands, but assimilation is proceeding quite rapidly. The remaining languages appear on the scale from severely to critically endangered in the order Veps, Lude, Ingrian and Vote. The last first-language speaker of Livonian died in 2009, but Livonan is further cultivated as a second language. Furthermore, Krevin, an outlying dialect of Vote in Latvia, became extinct in the nineteenth century. There exists a northern Finnic language chain from Finnish via Karelian, Olonetsian and Lude to Veps, in which language boundaries are, however, clear-cut, and all languages are equally distant from their neighbours. This invalidates both the Russian administrative grouping of Karelian, Olonetsian and Lude together as a 'Karelian' language as well as the various combinations of these three languages plus Ingrian by linguists following traditional views not based on linguistic considerations. The separation of Võro-Seto from Estonian is recent in terms of an established language boundary, but the actual linguistic differences are notable. Torne Valley Finnish, by contrast, is an exemple of a variety not separated by a language boundary and therefore a dialect on linguistic grounds. It has however an official status and an emerging literary tradition in part of its range, and it may therefore also prove to be an example of how the recognition of cross-border language communities and the cultivation of local varieties clearly contribute to the preservation of language diversity.

The Mordvin branch of the Uralic family consists of two languages, Erzya and Moksha. There exists a tradition of lumping together Erzya and Moksha as a single 'Mordvin' language, and although the Soviet authorities recognized both languages (somewhat inconsistently in view of other similar cases in Karelia and many places in Siberia), they nevertheless only collected combined census data. Both languages still have a large number of speakers, but the assimilation rate is high, and younger speakers typically use the native language only with elderly relatives. A very high percentage of Erzya- and Moksha-speakers live in small diaspora-based settlements.

The Mari branch also consists of two languages that are known either as Western Mari and Eastern Mari, or Hill Mari and Meadow Mari, respectively. Both name choices are slightly problematic: Hill Mari in the narrow sense constitutes only one of the two dialect areas of Western Mari, the other being North-Western Mari, while Meadow Mari often excludes the more easterly diaspora dialects which may collectively, and confusingly, also be called 'Eastern Mari'.

The Permian languages show a clear division into two sub-branches, Udmurt vs Komi, of which the former is a single language while the latter is divided into two languages, Permyak and Komi proper (the old name Zyryan may also be included to avoid ambiguity, and for maximum clarity 'Permyak Komi' and 'Zyryan Komi' can also be used), plus an outlying dialect, Yazva Komi (also known as Eastern Permyak).

The Indo-European family

The Indo-European language family consists of nine extant groups of closely related languages, of which Slavonic, Baltic, Germanic, Celtic, Romance, Albanian, Hellenic and Armenian were originally confined to the area covered by this chapter, while the Indo-Iranian languages are mainly spoken further east in Asia, with the exceptions listed below.

The Slavonic branch consists of three sub-branches, South, West and East Slavonic. There are four non-endangered South Slavonic languages, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croat (the traditional name in linguistic usage of the spoken language on which modern Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian etc. literary standards are based) and Slovene. Serbo-Croat is indeed a model example of the unnecessary confusion that follows when the relationships between spoken language and literary tradition are not considered analytically. It is increasingly clear that Torlak, spoken in south-eastern Serbia and extending to both Bulgaria and The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, needs to be recognized as a vulnerable regional language most closely related to Bulgarian-Macedonian rather than enclosed within Serbo-Croat.

Besides the three non-endangered West Slavonic languages, Polish, Czech and Slovak, only Sorbian is widely known as an endangered minority language. In fact, it is often referred to as two languages, Lower Sorbian and Upper Sorbian, but in our current framework they represent, rather, two literary traditions based on spoken varieties that show high mutual intelligibility and are connected through transitional dialects, thus constituting a genuine dialect continuum. Kashubian is another clearly distinct and endangered language, although often popularly regarded as a dialect of Polish and with varying estimates as to its degree of endangerment.

Only two of the East Slavonic languages, Russian and Ukrainian, are classified as non-endangered here, meaning that Belarusian, while an official language of an independent country, is regarded as vulnerable, based on the widespread use of Russian in its stead. Two regional languages are recognized within this group: one is well established, i.e. Rusyn, also known as Carpatho-Rusyn (and not to be confused with Vojvodina Rusyn); the other is somewhat unknown, namely Polesian in the border region of Belarus, Poland and Ukraine, still subsumed under Belarusian by SIL and in the *Encyclopedia* (Moseley, 2007).

Of the Baltic group, Latgalian has been treated as a regional language distinct from Latvian, although it is close to Latvian proper.

The Germanic branch consists of three sub-branches, West, North and East Germanic. There are three non-endangered West Germanic languages, English, Dutch and German, all of which are here defined more narrowly than in non-specialist usage. First, English excludes Scots, which extends as far south as Northumbria. Second, Dutch covers Hollandish, Brabantish and East Flemish, while West Flemish is a clear example of a regional language. Third, German consists of Thuringian, Upper Saxon and Silesian, so that not only Low Saxon but also Limburgian-Ripuarian, Moselle Franconian (which covers Luxembourgish), Rhenish Franconian and East Franconian as well as Alemannic and Bavarian are recognized as regional languages. None of the regional languages are particularly endangered but they all continue to be spoken in a diglossic situation with the national languages. Moselle Franconian in Luxembourg and Alemannic in Switzerland do not easily qualify even as vulnerable, given their extremely strong position as spoken languages, but they are to some extent in competition with German, and Moselle Franconian also with French. More to the point, Moselle Franconian and Alemannic are both spoken in several countries and their status is much weaker elsewhere. Notably, Alsatian in France, while part of the Alemannic dialect continuum and therefore not listed separately, is nevertheless included in the current Atlas.

To complete the list of West Germanic languages, the Frisian languages, West Frisian, Saterlandic and North Frisian, pose no problems as to classification, West Frisian being one of the larger minority languages in Europe, listed as vulnerable in the current Atlas. Yiddish in the narrow sense would only correspond to Eastern Yiddish in the SIL classification, while Western Yiddish (including so-called Judeo-Alsatian) perhaps never became fully independent from Alemannic. Eight outlying dialects of West Germanic languages are recognized in the Atlas. There are many other West Germanic language enclaves, but the above list covers the ones representing both long-term isolation and contact-based development. Plautdietsch is one of the cases where the current location of speakers cannot really be presented in the Atlas because they live in worldwide diaspora; its map point is shown as its birthplace in Ukraine, from where the remaining speakers were deported in the 1940s.

Of the North Germanic sub-branch, Faroese is listed as vulnerable in the Atlas because of the small size of the language community and the competition from Danish. Dalecarlian, Scanian (including Bornholmian) and Gutnish) are endangered regional languages clearly distinct from Swedish, while South Jutish in the Danish-German border region is only tentatively recognized as a regional language separate from Danish.

The Celtic branch of the Indo-European family consists of two sub-branches, Gaelic (Goidelic) and Brythonic (Brittonic), each of which is a group of three well-known languages, i.e. Irish, Manx and Scottish Gaelic constitute Gaelic; and Welsh, Cornish and Breton make up Brythonic. While the genetic classification of the languages is not contentious, there are many issues concerning their endangerment status. Welsh, with a strong speaker base and much institutional support nowadays, is nevertheless regarded as vulnerable, similar to almost all other minority languages, which can indeed be justified on the basis of continuing English domination in practically all fields of life. Irish, despite its official status, as well as Scottish Gaelic show gradual erosion of first-language speaker communities, and Breton, with an impressive number of speakers until recently, is losing ground much more rapidly. Manx and Cornish are uncontested representatives of the category of revived languages in Europe. Manx ceased to be a spoken community language in the nineteenth century, and the last first-language speaker, Ned Maddrell, died in 1974. A number of people who learnt from him and his contemporaries have, however, kept up the use of Manx as a second language, and the knowledge of the language has since then spread further through the school network and other channels on the Isle of Man. Cornish became extinct as a first language much earlier, most likely by the end of the eighteenth century, but there have nevertheless been several proposals for revived Cornish which have led to largely successful attempts to reestablish a variety of indigenous language traditions in Cornwall.

The Romance languages – one of the few major groups of languages whose proto-language, i.e. Latin, is known in great historical detail – consist of nine sub-branches, namely Ibero-Romance, Occitano-Romance, Gallo-Romance, Raeto-Romance, Sardinian, Italo-Romance, Istriot, the extinct Dalmatian, and Romanian in the broad sense. It is often taken for granted that the classification of the Romance languages must be highly complicated, but in most cases the language divisions within sub-branches appear rather definite and conclusive. To start with Ibero-Romance, it is represented by four extant spoken languages in the Iberian peninsula, namely Galician-Portuguese, Asturian-Leonese, Spanish (also referred to as Castilian) and Aragonese, as well as Judezmo (Judeo-Spanish, also known as Ladino) and the long-extinct Mozarabic. Galician and Portuguese are, of course, generally known through differentiated literary traditions and separated by a national border, but the spoken varieties can at best be divided along a very shallow boundary south of the Galician-Portuguese border, and Galician, even if treated as an independent minority language within Spain, would not immediately qualify as endangered because of its inherently strong position and its close proximity to Portuguese. Both Asturian-Leonese and Aragonese, however, are increasingly endangered.

Occitano-Romance is divided into three sub-units, conventionally labelled as Catalan, Gascon and Occitan. Catalan and Gascon represent single spoken languages, although both cases merit further discussion. Valencian possesses a literary tradition differing slightly from Catalan proper, but with regard to the vernacular no language boundary as defined above is involved. Algherese Catalan is listed as an outlying dialect here because of its isolated position subject to intensive language contacts. Gascon, called Aranese south of the French-Spanish border, is a clearly distinct language within Occitano-Romance. Of the other Oc languages, Languedocian, Provençal, Limousin and Auvergnat were also previously given language status in the *Ethnologue*, and while they, as well as Alpine Provençal included in the current Atlas, are admittedly close to each other, they have nevertheless shown markedly distinct traits for centuries and the differences among them are much greater than those within Catalan. Even if there were grounds for regarding Languedocian, Provençal, Limousin, Auvergnat and Alpine Provençal as dialects of a single spoken language, the arguments could not rely on an ideology supporting a particular cultural tradition, in this case the archaizing but largely Languedocian-based Occitan literary language. Finally, there is an outlying dialect of Alpine Provençal known as Gardiol in southern Italy. With the exception of Catalan, which is arguably the safest minority language in Europe, all varieties of Occitano-Romance are endangered, and it remains to be seen whether the lack of official encouragement of internal diversity has the effect of further escalating their disappearance.

It is true that the entire Oïl language area within French consists of closely related varieties, namely, besides French, Poitevin-Saintongeais, Gallo, Norman, Picard, Walloon, Champenois, Lorrain, Burgundian and Franc-Comtois, but lumping them together nevertheless disregards a considerable amount of variety and diversity. In general, the arguments presented by Bernard Cerquiglini in his report *Les langues de la France* (Cerquiglini et al., 2003) seem solidly based and internally consistent, and the current Atlas follows his stand. There are three outlying dialects of Norman on the Channel Islands, those of Guernsey and Jersey, and the recently extinct one of Alderney. Outside the Oïl area, Gallo-Romance consists of Francoprovençal, Piedmontese, Ligurian, Lombard, Emilian-Romagnol and Venetan. It may be argued that within Francoprovençal there is so much diversity and fragmentation that it too, like the Oc and the Oïl languages, should be seen as a group of languages rather than a single language, but it nonetheless seems a true case of a dialect continuum, as well as exhibiting sufficient intelligibility to allow us to defend the current treatment.

Raeto-Romance is a group of three well-known minority languages, Romansh, Ladin and Friulian. Raeto-Romance is often classified inside Gallo-Romance, but there seem to be enough distinguishing features for it to be treated as an independent sub-branch.

Sardinian is here understood as a unit consisting of two closely related languages, Logudorese and Campidanese, while Gallurese and Sassarese are dealt with in the Italo-Romance section below. It may be argued that Logudorese and Campidanese are close enough to be treated as dialects of a single Sardinian language, but as in the cases of the Oc and Oïl languages discussed above, they appear reasonably distinctive. There is no doubt of their being endangered, as Italian is gaining ground fast, even in Sardinian's heartland.

Italo-Romance consists of Corsican, as well as Gallurese and Sassarese (treated technically as outlying dialects of Corsican here), Italian (comprising Tuscan and Central Italian dialect groups), South Italian (including Campanian and Calabrese) and Sicilian. Until now, Italian authorities have not granted recognition to the regional languages belonging to the Italo-Romance or the

Gallo-Romance sub-branches, although Ladin and Friulian are recognized. South Italian and Sicilian, and to a lesser extent Corsican, nevertheless enjoy a relatively stable position as the vernaculars of their communities.

The Istriot language is a little-known although relatively well-studied language of the Istrian peninsula that constitutes an independent branch of Romance and is also severely endangered.

The Romanian sub-branch of Romance consists not only of Romanian in the narrow sense of the term (also called Daco-Romanian), but also of the widely dispersed Aromanian (Macedo-Romanian), Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian languages, all of which are highly endangered, especially Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian in Greece. Linguists in Romania traditionally treat all members of this sub-branch as dialects of Romanian, but given the notable differences and clear boundaries between them, such a stance only reflects out-of-date terminology.

Albanian is a primary branch of the Indo-European family, and its two main varieties, Gheg and Tosk, can be seen as dialect groups of a single, bipolar language joined by a belt of transitional dialects. Neither of them is endangered, but there are three endangered outlying dialects, two of Tosk and one of Gheg.

The Hellenic branch consists of two languages, Greek and the severely endangered Tsakonian, which have been distinct since ancient times. The outlying dialects of Greek are very much endangered.

Besides the non-endangered (Eastern) Armenian, there are several isolated speaker communities, of which Western Armenian (which survives in Istanbul, the Middle East and elsewhere in the diaspora) as well as Homshetsma (spoken near the Black Sea coast) are tentatively recognized as outlying dialects in the Atlas.

The Indo-Iranian branch consists of three sub-branches, Indic, Iranian and Nuristani (also known as Kafiri). Romani is the only Indic language in the area covered by this chapter, while its extinct relative Lomavren in Armenia provided vocabulary to the local mixed language with an Armenian basis. Romani is incontestably the most widespread non-territorial language in the world. It is treated as seven languages by SIL under the names Carpathian Romani, Kalo Finnish Romani, Baltic Romani, Balkan Romani, Sinte Romani, Welsh Romani and Vlach ('Vlax') Romani, but despite their extensive distribution and many contact-induced innovations the Romani dialects preserve a remarkable degree of unity, which has led to the current treatment of Romani as a single language. The placing of the map point, in north-west Transylvania, is meant to give token representation to a very diffuse language.

There are several mixed languages with Romani vocabulary in Europe, the best known perhaps being Angloromani, but since they typically function as second languages in their communities, they have not been included in the Atlas, although a fuller description of language diversity should aim to take them into account.

There are also several languages belonging to the Iranian sub-branch of the Indo-Iranian branch spoken in the Caucasus and Anatolia. The only Eastern Iranian language in the area under review is Ossete, with two characteristic dialect groups, Digor and Iron, but apparently sufficiently cohesive to be regarded as a single language. Ossete has a broad speaker base and it belongs to the vulnerable category with other large minority languages of the Caucasus. Tat and Juhur (Judeo-Tat), comprising a sub-unit of South-Western Iranian languages, are also spoken in the Caucasus, under strong pressure from Azerbaijani and Russian respectively.

One North-Western Iranian language, Zazaki, is spoken exclusively in Turkey, and despite having a high number of speakers, it must be regarded as vulnerable at the minimum. Of the North-Western Iranian languages, two more are represented in the region: Kurmanji (Northern Kurdish), spoken mainly in Turkey but also in the neighbouring countries in the Caucasus and the Middle East, cannot be regarded as endangered; Talysh, spoken in the Islamic Republic of Iran and Azerbaijan is, by contrast, threatened by the majority languages. Furthermore, a poorly documented and recently extinct language called Kilit is known from the Nakhichevan region of Azerbaijan, but it may also have been an outlying dialect of a nearby North-Western Iranian language.

The Semitic family

The Semitic language family is represented in the area under review by two languages of the Arabic branch, the severely endangered Cypriot Arabic and the non-endangered Maltese, as well as a number of clearly endangered languages of the Aramaic branch in Turkey and the Caucasus. Both of the known Central Neo-Aramaic languages, the closely related Turoyo and Mlahso, were based in Turkey, from where the majority of speakers fled in the early twentieth century. Turoyo now survives marginally in Turkey as well as in the Syrian Arab Republic, but mainly through a major diaspora in several countries in western Europe and overseas. Mlahso is now extinct both in Turkey and in the expatriate community in the Syrian Arab Republic. Three North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic languages were traditionally spoken in Turkey and across the border further into the Middle East, namely Suret (divided by SIL on non-linguistic grounds into Assyrian Neo-Aramaic and Chaldean Neo-Aramaic), Hértevin (reportedly quite different from Suret) and Lishan Didan (a Jewish Aramaic language also linguistically separate), all of them now largely in diaspora. Furthermore, an outlying dialect of Suret was created in Georgia because of the migration of the entire Bohtan Neo-Aramaic community from Turkey.

The Kartvelian family

The Kartvelian language family is clearly structured into four languages, of which Georgian is non-endangered, while Svan and the closely related but distinct Mingrelian and Laz are increasingly endangered.

The Abkhaz-Adyge family

The Abkhaz-Adyge language family consists of three units, Abkhaz, Ubykh and Adyge. The speakers of Ubykh were forced to translocate from the Caucasus to Turkey, where the language is now extinct. Mass migrations from the other language communities to the Middle East and further afield also occurred in the nineteenth century, but their map points appear only in their current locations in the Caucasus. The Abkhaz branch is usually classified as consisting of two closely related languages, Abkhaz and Abaza. Since the Ashkharawa dialect is practically identical with Abkhaz, the solution adopted in the current Atlas is to regard the more distinct Tapanta dialect alone as representing Abaza, which would perhaps best be qualified as an outlying dialect of Abkhaz. The Adyge ('Adyghe') branch, also known as Circassian, also consists of two closely related varieties, but their status as separate languages, Adyge proper (Western Circassian) vs Kabard-Cherkes (Eastern Circassian, also Kabardian), is clearer. Despite the turbulent history, the endangerment status of the extant Abkhaz-Adyge languages is no worse than vulnerable.

The Nakh-Daghestanian family

The classification of the Nakh-Daghestanian language family is, despite the large number of languages, relatively uncomplicated. The Nakh branch consists of three languages, the severely endangered Bats and the vulnerable, closely related Chechen and Ingush. Altogether twenty-seven other languages in six groups are spoken in Daghestan and further south to Azerbaijan, of which Avar, comprising a group of its own, is the region's dominant indigenous language; it is vulnerable only due to its secondary position in comparison with Russian. The Andi and Tsez languages are spoken by small communities and appear at least in the category of definitely endangered. Lak and Dargwa, classified either as distinct branches or together, have larger numbers of speakers and are labelled vulnerable. The Lezgian group contains two major and thus only vulnerable indigenous languages, and eight small and endangered ones. There are a further two items in the list that may warrant a division into several languages, most notably Dargwa, which, it has been suggested, may contain anything from a couple to eighteen languages, but also Karata, from which the Tokita dialect may turn out to be distinct. All in all, the language boundaries in this region of exceptionally high language density are conspicuously clear and the few problematic issues derive from the lack of information rather than inconclusive criteria.

The Turkic family

The Turkic language family has only two primary branches, one consisting of the Chuvash language alone (historically known as Bulgar Turkic with the inclusion of long-extinct languages) and the other comprising all the remaining languages called Common Turkic. Chuvash itself is supported by a large minority community and belongs to the vulnerable category because of the dominant position of Russian.

The Common Turkic branch is further divided into nine genetic groups, of which only two, Oguz and Kipchak, are represented in the area covered by this chapter. The Oguz languages spoken within the area under review are Gagauz, Turkish and Azerbaijani as well as three outlying dialects, two of Turkish and one of Turkmen. Gagauz may be said to have originated as an outlying dialect, and the classification of the Gagauz dialects in the Balkans poses further problems because they have not been sufficiently studied.

Kipchak, the most diverse of the Turkic groups, has three recognizable subgroups. First, the subgroup consisting of Crimean Tatar, Karaim, Kumyk, Karachay-Balkar and the extinct Cuman is spoken entirely within the area under review. Kumyk and Karachay-Balkar are both vulnerable, while Crimean Tatar and Karaim are highly endangered, not least because of the mass deportation of the Crimean Tatar community to Central Asia in the Soviet era, so that today only a minority of speakers live in the Crimea, the location of the map point for Crimean Tatar. Second, Tatar and Bashkir (Bashkort), as well as two outlying dialects of Tatar in Siberia, compose a close-knit subgroup, with Tatar as one of the very few entirely safe minority languages in Europe and Bashkir also relatively stable but nonetheless vulnerable. Third, Nogay, a moderately endangered language with widely scattered communities in eastern Europe and the Caucasus, belongs to a subgroup together with Kazakh and Karakalpak. Nogay is also traditionally spoken in the Crimea as well as in Dobruja, but in those regions its speakers are administratively counted among Crimean Tatars.

The Mongolic family

Kalmyk is the only Mongolic language spoken in Europe, and it is definitely endangered despite its position as an official language of a constituent republic of the Russian Federation.

Western and Central Asia

Hakim Elnazarov

The vast mountainous region of Central Asia, encompassing the Pamir, Hindu Kush and Karakoram mountain ranges, is host to numerous small ethnolinguistic groups, to the point that some scholars have classified it as an 'ethnographic museum'. These groups have retained their distinctive linguistic and cultural diversity due to the geographically complex pattern of the mountainous terrain. The twentieth century brought the region into contact with the outside world, thus accelerating the process of change in all spheres of human existence. The culturally diverse groups have been increasingly intertwined with the globalized world, which has brought challenges to the cultural diversity of these mountainous communities along with opportunities for economic growth.

The genealogy of these mountain languages places them within the broader group of Indo-Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages. They have been classified as Eastern Iranian, Nuristani and Dardic language families within those groups. The exception is the Burushaski language spoken in Hunza-Nagar and Yasin area in Gilgit district of northern Pakistan that is known as a language isolate, that is, its membership in a linguistic phylum is not established.

The languages spoken in the region can all be classified as endangered to varying degrees. Extensive studies of these languages over the last century have largely concentrated on their documentation and description as part of ethnographic studies, which demonstrate the rich cultural traditions of the mountain communities. More recent initiatives are the development of multilingual dictionaries in some languages with numerous speakers. With the exception of a few sociolinguistic studies, there is a very limited literature on the endangerment of these languages. For the purposes of this chapter, I have relied on various sources, from sociolinguistic studies to ethnographic studies and official censuses of the host countries. Some sociological studies and reports on migration and economic developments also provide credible information on the dynamics of changes in demography and in the assimilation and integration of communities in the region.

Eastern Iranian languages

The Pamiri languages are spoken by diverse ethnic minority groups in the deep and narrow valleys of the Pamir mountain range and also in the Hindu Kush and Karakoram mountain ranges to the south-east of the Pamirs, a region known as the Pamiro-Hindu Kush ethnolinguistic region. The Pamiri languages include the Shughni-Rushani group of languages and the Wakhi, Ishkashimi and Yazgulyami languages. Most speakers of these languages live in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Province of Tajikistan. Some linguists add the Munjan language, spoken by a minority group in northern Afghanistan, to this group. The Shughni-Rushani subgroup is further divided into closely related languages, including Shughni, Rushani, Bartangi, Sariqoli and a number of smaller dialects that are mutually comprehensible to the speakers of this group. Their degree of genetic closeness varies, but they all belong to the Eastern Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. Among the Pamiri languages, Shughni has the largest community of speakers, exceeding 100,000 people on both sides of the River Panj on the Tajikistan and Afghanistan border. The speakers live in the regional capital city Khorog and Shughnan district, including the Ghund and Roshtqala valleys. The language prevails among other Pamiri languages and serves as a lingua franca for most of the speakers of other Pamiri languages in the Badakhshan region.

Speakers of the Wakhi language, known as Wakhis, second to Shughni-speakers in terms of number, live in the far reaches of the Pamirs on the border of four countries – Tajikistan, China, Pakistan and Afghanistan. They inhabit Sarhad region – a valley along the Vakhandarya River in Afghanistan and along the upper reaches of the Panj River that forms the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan. Wakhi-speakers are also settled in Chitral and the Northern Area of Pakistan in Yarkhun, Ishkoman, Hunza and Shimshal. Wakhi settlements are also found in Tashkorghan district of Xinjiang Province of China. The total number of Wakhi-speakers in four countries exceeds 70,000. The speakers of other Pamiri languages range from 20,000 (Rushanis) to fewer than 1,000. The severely endangered language among this group is Ishkashimi, spoken in a single village, Ryn, and closely associated with the Sanglechi language on the Afghan side.

Among other Eastern Iranian minority languages in Tajikistan are Yaghnobi and Parya. Yaghnobi is spoken by approximately 20,000 people in several localities in the Yaghnov valley near Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan. In spite of their close proximity to surrounding Tajik-speakers, Yaghnobis have preserved their unique culture and traditions. Examples of their written language, which is closely related to ancient Sogdian, still exist. The speakers of Parya (numbering around 7,000) are mostly scattered along the Hissor valley of western Tajikistan along the border with Uzbekistan. Some speakers of this language can also be found in Uzbekistan and Afghanistan. The Yaghnobi- and Parya-speakers exhibit high bilingual proficiency. There is, however, increasing penetration of Tajik vocabulary into these languages, which makes their chances of survival rather slim. A recent initiative to create a primer for the Yaghnobi language has not yet been realized.

The degree of endangerment of the Pamiri and other minority languages in Tajikistan varies, depending on the number of speakers and their social and cultural vitality. The common characteristic of their endangerment is the lack of a written script. Their usage is confined to the public domain without any official status. The official language of governance, formal education and public gatherings remains Tajik. The Constitution of Tajikistan recognizes the multiplicity of ethnic groups in the country. A special article in the state Law on Language Policy prescribes that the languages of the mountainous Badakhshan (Pamiri) area and the Yaghnobi language, as ancient Iranian languages, should be preserved and promoted (Article 1, part 3). However, much remains to be done to promote these languages for educational purposes.

Turkic languages

The vast region of Central and western Asia is inhabited predominantly by Turkic-speaking peoples. With the exception of Tajikistan, other Central Asian countries including Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, and, to the north-west, the south-eastern regions of the Russian Federation, are predominantly Turkic-speaking. Their languages belong to the Turkic-Altaic family of languages. Centuries of coexistence and interaction with Iranian people have left traces in their linguistic composition. This is particularly evident in the case of Uzbekistan, where most of the population are bilingual, that is, they speak Tajik along with Uzbek. Uzbekistan has a number of endangered languages that actually belong to the Indo-Iranian branch. Bukharic, which has fewer than 10,000 speakers, is spoken in areas surrounding the historic city of Bukhara. Parya is another Iranian-branch endangered language spoken in Uzbekistan, but most of its speakers live in neighbouring Tajikistan. Among the most endangered languages in the Turkic-speaking countries of Central Asia is probably Dungan, which belongs to Sino-Tibetan. It has several dialects, including the Gansi and Shaanxi dialects. The majority of its speakers (40,000) live in Kyrgyzstan. There are other endangered languages in this region, but they have more speakers in other countries, particularly in the Russian Federation.

The ethnic make-up of the Central Asian countries was diversified during the Soviet period, when the mobility of the population led to an influx of Slavic-speakers. Current state policies attempt to reinforce the position of the official language in all domains. Some countries such as Uzbekistan have replaced the Cyrillic script with Latin in order to reinforce the national identity. As a result, many minority groups in these countries are vulnerable.

Western Iranian languages

The Islamic Republic of Iran and Afghanistan are home to a number of endangered languages belonging to the Western Iranian branch of Indo-Iranian languages. Parachi and its close affiliate Ormuri, spoken in central Afghanistan near Kabul, have only a few thousand speakers left. Both are experiencing pressure from Dari and Pashtu, the official state languages. A similar situation prevails in the Islamic Republic of Iran, with its multicultural and multiethnic composition. A majority of the endangered languages there belong to wider groups in the vicinity such as Balochi, spoken in Pakistan, and Khalaj, a Turkic language also spoken in Azerbaijan and Turkey. There are, however, dozens of indigenous minority groups whose languages are experiencing various degrees of endangerment. Most of them are spoken in the central areas of the Islamic Republic of Iran – they include Ashtiani, Gazi, Khunsari, Natanzi, Nayini, Sivandi, Soi and Vafsi. The number of speakers ranges between 20,000 and 7,000. However, there have been no systematic studies or documentation of these languages other than recordings of popular songs and folklore.

There are a number of other endangered languages in the Islamic Republic of Iran, scattered mostly in the north-western area bordering Iraq – they include Hawrami, Dzhidi, Mandaic, Hulawla and Lishan Didan. The last two are believed to be extinct, while Mandaic has fewer than 300 speakers and is critically endangered. In the south, Koroshi, Lari and Bashkardi (which has affinities with Balochi) are also in danger of disappearing. Semnani, with its several dialects in the north-eastern province of Semnan, is also definitely endangered. Persian has been the language of literary tradition for these communities for centuries, and speakers are by and large bilingual. These vanishing languages are often treated as dialects of the country's literary and official language, that is, Persian, and there do not seem to be many signs of attempts to revitalize and reinvigorate them.

Nuristani languages

Nuristani languages are spoken in Nuristan Province in north-east Afghanistan. Some speakers of these languages can also be found in neighbouring Pakistan along the Afghan border. The term Nuristan, 'Land of Light', was attached to these communities after their acceptance of Islam at the end of the nineteenth century. However, they continue to retain their linguistic affiliation according to their ancient communal and tribal names. These include Kati, Prasun, Waigali, Ashkun and Gambiri (or Tregami). The largest community among this group consists of Kati-speakers, also known as Bashgali, who number close to 20,000. Prasun, Waigali and Ashkun each have approximately 2,000 speakers. Gambiri (or Tregami) has fewer than 1,000. It is spoken only in three villages in the Tregam valley of the lower Pech in Nuristan Province and is among the region's severely endangered languages.

Nuristan Province was created in 2002 by the Interim Government of Afghanistan. This has enabled the Nuristani community to take ownership of their social and economic development, thereby strengthening their sense of identity. They use Dari and Pashtu as official languages. Recently the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan has taken an initiative to develop primers for some of the minority languages spoken in the country. Among them are Pamiri languages spoken within Afghanistan and the Nuristani languages. The orthographies will be based on the Persian script.

The prolonged war in Afghanistan led to a significant exodus of Afghan refugees to other parts of the world, especially Pakistan. The migration involved a large number of minority groups, in particular Nuristani-speakers. Not all of them have returned to their home country, and many have sought refuge elsewhere. Thus, there are pockets of Nuristani-speakers in Chitral in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province on the border with Afghanistan, where they appear to have set up permanent residence. The spread of the community outside its home makes it prone to faster assimilation and the loss of its original language.

Dardic languages

The Dardic languages are the largest and probably the least explored group of languages of the Central Asian mountainous region. There are several groups of Dardic languages spoken by communities scattered along the vast territories of northern Pakistan, eastern Afghanistan and Jammu and Kashmir in India. Apart from Kashmiri, the other languages are experiencing various levels of endangerment. Recent sociolinguistic surveys by the National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics (now, SIL International), Islamabad, provide insights into the endangerment and cultural vitality of these languages. G. Morgenstierne (1974) made a significant contribution to the study of the genetics of these languages and their classification. More research is needed to define their relation to other Indo-Aryan languages and their degrees of endangerment.

The Dardic languages have been clustered into five groups: the Kunar group, the Chitral cluster, and Kohistani, Shina and Kashmiri. Except for Kashmiri and Shina, they are all considered endangered. The Kunar languages – Gawar-Bati and Dameli, Pashayi, Shumashti and Ningalami (which also includes Grangali) – are mainly spoken in the southern Chitral district of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan and the Kunar valley of Afghanistan. The size of each group does not exceed 10,000 speakers. Gawar-Bati has the largest number (9,500), while Ningalami is critically endangered. The Chitral languages are Khowar and Kalasha. The number of Khowar-speakers is the largest among the Dardic languages (over 200,000), which makes it relatively safe. Kalasha is spoken in the Kalash valley in southern Chitral of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. The approximately 5,000 Kalasha-speakers are the only remaining non-Muslim group in the region. The Kohistani group includes Kalami, Torwali, Kalkoti, Indus Kohistani, Bateri, Chilisso, Gowro, and a few other languages and dialects, some of which are mutually comprehensible. Gowro is spoken by fewer than 200 people in the Indus Kohistan and Kolai area. Speakers of other languages number a mere few thousand, except Bateri (29,000). The Shina cluster includes Domaaki, Phalura and Ushojo. Among these languages, Domaaki is spoken by fewer than 500 people in a handful of villages in the Gilgit and Hunza valleys. Phalura is spoken in a few villages in southern Chitral of Pakistan and the speakers of the Savi language are based in a village on the Kunar River in Afghanistan. Some Savi people were displaced due to the war in Afghanistan and took shelter in Pakistan. Speakers of Ushojo live in several scattered villages in the Bishigram valley of Swat Kohistan in Pakistan.

Most of the Dardic languages are under severe pressure from Pashtu, which is widely used as a second language. The majority of speakers are bilingual and are proficient in Urdu or Pashtu. The language of formal education in northern Pakistan is Urdu, but not all the minority groups have access to formal education. The community's rich cultural traditions and folklore are transmitted orally from one generation to another. Isolation is prolonging the life of endangered languages, but communities have little opportunity to develop economically. Thus, many speakers of these languages are seeking to move to urban areas. The impact of this north–south migration in search of better job opportunities has made it difficult for families to preserve their mother tongue in an alien environment. With the upsurge in global means of communication and the expansion of infrastructure in the isolated northern regions of Pakistan, people's mobility is likely to change the demography and linguistic make-up of the region.

Given the current geopolitical interests of the countries of Central and South Asia and the instability in some regions, the reinvigoration of endangered languages is unlikely to be a priority. The efforts of international organizations to increase awareness of endangered languages as part of human rights initiatives seem to be the best option in the current situation.

North-east Asia

Juha Janhunen

Siberia

Siberia, or Asiatic Russia, comprises the region between the Ural mountains and the North Pacific coast of Eurasia. In the south, the region includes the Altai and Sayan mountains and borders the steppes of Mongolia and Central Asia. Siberia came under Russian rule in 1580. Since 1860 the region has also comprised northern and eastern Manchuria, known today as the Russian Far East. Off the Pacific coast, the Kuril Islands and Sakhalin were partially under Japanese rule between 1855 and 1945. At the Sino-Mongolian border, the region of Tuva, formerly a part of Mongolia, was an independent state (the Tannu-Tuva Republic) from 1921 until 1944, when it was annexed by the Soviet Union.

Until premodern times, most of Siberia, including the Russian Far East, was inhabited by aboriginal populations speaking some fifty to sixty distinct languages belonging to ten separate language families: Uralic, Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Yeniseic (Ket-Kott), Amuric, Ainuic, Yukaghiric, Chukchi-Kamchadal and Eskimo-Aleut. On typological and geographical grounds these are conventionally lumped together into two major groups, known as Ural-Altaic (Uralic, Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic) and Palaeo-Siberian (Yeniseic, Amuric, Ainu, Yukaghir, Chukchi-Kamchadal and Eskimo-Aleut). Most of the language families in the region are relatively shallow. The Uralic family is, however, represented by two mutually very distant branches, Ugric and Samoyedic. Chukchi-Kamchadal is also divided into two fairly distantly related branches, Chukchi (northern) and Kamchadal (southern). Several of the Palaeo-Siberian language families are represented by a single language isolate, or by a coherent group of very closely related languages, typical examples being Nivkh, Ainu and Yukaghir. Some other families that used to comprise several languages are today represented by a single surviving member, an example being Ket (Yeniseian).

With the introduction of Russian rule, Russian became the main colonial language throughout Siberia and is today spoken by virtually all the total population of about 30 million people. By contrast, the aboriginal languages are spoken by some 1 million people, most of whom are bilingual in Russian. In the Sino-Russian and Sino-Japanese border zones, both Chinese and Japanese have also played the role of colonial languages, while in north-east Siberia (the Bering Strait region) English has made some historical intrusions on the Asiatic side.

The typical size of a linguistically distinct population in premodern times varied between 500 and 5,000 people. Larger populations and speech communities have arisen in recent historical times among the nomadic populations, especially in the tundra and steppe environments. In general, languages spoken by tundra and steppe people tend to be internally more uniform than those spoken by less mobile groups, such as river fishers.

Since Soviet times, many, though not all, aboriginal populations of Siberia have had a titular position in ethnic territories at various levels of the administration. This system is also meant to bring linguistic benefits, especially at the highest level, at which there are today five federal republics: Buryatia, Yakutia, Tuva, Khakassia and the Altay Republic. The actual situation of the ethnic language of the titular population in each republic depends, however, on the local demographic situation. The situation is most favourable in Yakutia and Tuva, where the titular populations, comprising several hundred thousand people, are still the local majority. By contrast, Buryat (Mongolic) in Buryatia, Khakas (Turkic) in Khakassia and Altay (Turkic) in the Altay Republic are in a clear minority position in their areas.

The rest of the aboriginal populations of Siberia were grouped together in the Soviet system under the label, the 'Twenty-six Small Peoples of the Far North'. Throughout the Soviet period, the languages of these peoples were intensively documented and studied, one of the aims being the creation of orthographies, literary standards and textbooks. The orthographies were initially based on a unified application of the Roman alphabet, but were changed to Cyrillic during the 1930s. Most of the literary languages thus created have survived up to the present day; these include Northern Mansi (Ugric), Northern and Central Khanty (Ugric), Tundra Nenets (Samoyed), Northern Selkup (Samoyed), Evenki (Tungusic), Even (Tungusic), Nanay (Tungusic), Amur, Sakhalin Nivkh, Chukchi (Chukchi-Kamchadal), Koryak (Chukchi-Kamchadal) and Siberian Yupik (Eskimo-Aleut). Some literary languages, including Ket (Yeniseic), Udege (Tungusic) and Itelmen (Chukchi-Kamchadal), have only recently been revived, while several new ones including Dolgan (Turkic) and Forest Nenets (Samoyed) have even been created in the post-Soviet period.

The policy of creating written languages for the Siberian populations has been of major symbolic significance for the speakers of the languages concerned. It has not, however, prevented the decline of the spoken languages; rather, in some cases, the introduction of an artificial and dialectally biased literary standard has led to a confusion that has only weakened the status of the spoken language. At the same time, the system of compulsory education during the Soviet period involved the forced separation of children from their native communities. In the school centres, the children were placed in multiethnic boarding schools in which Russian was the only language. Returning to their native communities after completing their education, children no longer mastered their own ethnic languages.

The status of native languages in Siberia has also been affected by problems created by the cultural, social, economic and ecological marginalization of the local aboriginal populations. The situation is not different from that encountered in North America. The populations whose languages have survived best are typically those living in the northern tundra belt, where the traditional culture of reindeer breeding is still alive. However, as the tundra belt has become a target of the international oil industry, the conditions for reindeer breeding and other traditional activities have deteriorated in many places. On the other hand, the local populations and their languages, especially in north-west Siberia, have started to receive regular financial support from the oil industry. In some cases, this support has been used to continue the literary languages created during the Soviet period.

The decline of native languages has been even more drastic in the Japanese parts of north-east Asia, where no official minority language policy has been adopted. When the island of Hokkaido was opened to Japanese colonization in 1870, the local varieties of Ainu (Hokkaido Ainu) were still spoken by some 15,000 people, most of whom were monolingual in Ainu. By 1917, the number of monolingual speakers had fallen to 350, and the decline of the language has continued rapidly ever since. Even so, in 2008, the Japanese Government, for the first time in history, recognized the existence of the Ainu as a distinct ethnic group.

Atypical dialects of Ainu, or closely related languages, were originally also spoken on Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. The Kuril Ainu were eliminated as a group during a forced transfer to Hokkaido in the late nineteenth century (1884), while the Sakhalin Ainu survived in the context of Southern Sakhalin (Karafuto), which was under Japanese colonial rule between 1905 and 1945. After the Second World War, the remaining Sakhalin Ainu, together with scattered individuals speaking Orok (Tungusic) and Nivkh, were evacuated to Hokkaido, where they have gradually vanished without forming living speech communities.

The present-day, historically known aboriginal languages of Siberia, including Sakhalin, Hokkaido and the Kuril Islands, may fairly unambiguously be classified as vulnerable, definitely endangered, severely endangered, critically endangered or extinct. Although several cases of extinction have been recorded since the eighteenth century, the bulk of the region's languages are still extant, though they are almost all endangered to varying degrees. The only completely safe languages are those used as official state languages – primarily Russian and Japanese, but also Mongolian. For the time being, however, Tuva (Tuvan), a former state language, also seems to be beyond immediate threat thanks to the relative isolation of the Tuva Republic.

The category of vulnerable languages comprises, in particular, Eastern Buryat, but Yakut probably also belongs here, at least in some areas. Both Eastern Buryat and Yakut are supported by sufficiently large speech communities, but the speakers are territorially widely dispersed. Although both languages have a relatively old and well-functioning literary standard with a considerable amount of native literature, most intellectual activities take place in Russian. On the other hand, languages like Khakas and Siberian Tatar (Turkic, closely related to Volga Tatar) are less safe, especially since the number of young speakers is declining rapidly. The native languages typically remain restricted to rural villages and sparsely inhabited wilderness areas.

Among the smaller linguistic groups, Dolgan (Turkic, closely related to Yakut), with perhaps only 5,000 speakers but a high rate of native language proficiency, may probably also be classified as only vulnerable. In a somewhat similar position, though with as many as 25,000 speakers, is Tundra Nenets. Both Dolgan and Tundra Nenets are spoken by populations engaged in traditional reindeer breeding in the tundra belt. The status of Tundra Nenets is more problematic than that of Dolgan, however, as its speakers are scattered over wide distances extending from the Kola peninsula in Europe to Taimyr in Siberia. Due to social and ecological problems, the number of young speakers is declining, in particular among the European Tundra Nenets. The oil industry is also threatening the language on the Yamal peninsula, the principal Tundra Nenets area on the Siberian side.

Another language that may be classified as only endangered is Khamnigan Mongol (Mongolic). The language was originally spoken across the current state boundaries in the Sino-Russo-Mongolian border region. It has, however, become virtually extinct in both the Russian Federation and Mongolia and survives today only among an emigrant population within China (northern Inner Mongolia). The speech community is compact, and its members are still semi-nomadic, but there are hardly more than 2,000 speakers, and the number of Chinese settlements in the area is increasing. Even more endangered than Khamnigan Mongol itself is its traditional symbiosis with two forms of Evenki (Khamnigan Evenki). Khamnigan Mongol and Evenki have coexisted for several generations as the two ethnic languages of a single, almost fully bilingual population, but this pattern is today being disrupted in favour of Khamnigan Mongol only.

Most other languages in the region are best classified as severely endangered. In all these cases, the speech communities are small, mainly between 500 and 5,000 individuals. The speaker profile is biased towards the old and middle generations, and the number of children fluent in the ethnic language is diminishing, often being close to zero. Examples are Northern Khanty, Selkup, Nganasan, Ket, Shor (intermediate between Altay and Khakas), Teleut (a distinct variety of Altay), Western Buryat (relatively distinct from Eastern Buryat), Even, Nanay, Sakhalin Nivkh, Chukchi, Koryak and Alutor (closely related to Koryak). Diaspora entities such as Kamchatka Even are in an even more precarious situation.

A somewhat special case is that of Evenki, which used to be the principal and most widespread language of the Siberian forest zone between the Ob-Yenisey basins and the Pacific coast as far east as Sakhalin. A separate local entity was formed by the so-called Equestrian Tungus in Transbaykalia, whose dialects formed the basis of Khamnigan Evenki. Varieties of Evenki are also spoken in Manchuria. In premodern times, the total number of Evenki-speakers may have reached a maximum of 50,000 individuals. However, the spread of Russian colonization, as well as the expansion of Yakut in central Siberia and Buryat in the Baykal region, have split the formerly continuous belt of Evenki-speakers into a number of local groups, now undergoing assimilation to Russian, Yakut and Buryat. The number of speakers on the Siberian side is down to 5,000, and there are only a few small communities where children are fluent in the native language.

The other Siberian languages still extant today are critically endangered, since the remaining speech communities are very small and the youngest speakers have already passed reproductive age. Languages in this category include Mansi (Ugric), Tundra and Forest Enets (Samoyed), Yug (Yeniseic, if not extinct), Chulym (Turkic, an atypical branch of Khakas), Tofa (Turkic) with related Tukha and Uyghur Uryangkhai on the Mongolian side, Tundra and Forest Yukaghir, Itelmen (Chukotko-Kamchatkan), Amur Nivkh, Negidal (an atypical form of Evenki), Ulcha (closely related to Nanay), as well as Orok, Oroch and Udege (all Tungusic). On the Japanese side, Hokkaido Ainu, with fewer than a dozen rudimentary speakers, is also critically endangered.

Languages that have become extinct since being linguistically described include Mator (Samoyed, in the 1840s), Kott (Yeniseic, in the 1850s), Arman (an archaic variety of Even, in the 1970s), Kamas (Samoyed, in 1989), Sakhalin Ainu (in 1994) and Kerek (Chukchi, in 2005).

A glance at the map reveals that Siberia's remaining linguistic diversity is concentrated along the margins of the region: in the west (the Ob-Yenisey region), the south (the Altai-Sayan region), the north-east (Chukotka and Kamchatka) and the south-east (the Amur region). Much of rural central Siberia, which was formerly dominated by Evenki, is today Yakut-speaking. The spread of Russian has traditionally taken place mainly in the south-to-north direction along the major rivers, as well as in the west-to-east direction along the old Sino-Russian trade routes and, subsequently, the Trans-Siberian Railway. More recently, Russian-speaking communities, including mining towns and oil drilling stations, have arisen more randomly, especially in the Arctic tundra belt.

The current wave of extinction is inevitably leading to the disappearance of at least the critically endangered languages, which comprise nearly half of Siberia's linguistic diversity. The other half is formed by languages most of which are severely endangered and hence also likely to disappear. Considering both demographic and ecological circumstances as well as the administrative context, only a few languages in the region have a realistic chance of survival. These would seem to include, in particular, Tundra Nenets and possibly Khakas. On the other hand, with a sufficient investment of human effort and economic resources, it would not be impossible to save even some very small speech communities.

From the point of view of linguistic diversity, the greatest losses will take place if and when entire language families become extinct. In north-east Asia, the Ainu and Yukaghir families are already critically endangered, and the position of the Yeniseic (Ket) and Nivkh families is severely endangered. The Chukchi-Kamchadal family is only slightly less endangered. Even the formerly large and diversified family of Tungusic may be lost, unless it can survive on the Chinese side of the border. On the other hand, Uralic, Turkic and Mongolic will survive as families irrespective of what happens to their members dispersed throughout north-east Asia.

Manchuria

Manchuria as a physical region comprises the Amur and Liao river basins and the adjoining parts of the Pacific coast. As already mentioned, since 1860 the northern and eastern parts of Manchuria have been administered as the Russian Far East, which may today also be seen as an integral part of Asiatic Russia, or Siberia. The rest of Manchuria remained within the Manchu empire of the Qing, which also comprised China. Between 1931 and 1945 Manchuria formed the state of Manchukuo, before becoming part of the People's Republic of China. In the Chinese context, Manchuria is known as the 'North-East' (Dongbei). Administratively, the region is today divided between the provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning. The western part has belonged to the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region since 1979.

The Chinese immigrant population has now grown to more than 100 million, while the remaining aboriginal populations number hardly more than 10 million, of whom, however, only a small proportion retain their native languages.

Of the non-Chinese languages spoken in the Chinese North-East, only Mongol proper and Korean may be classified as safe, though locally even they are undergoing assimilation by Chinese. Both Mongol and Korean are supported by old and well-functioning literary languages, which are also used as mediums of school education in China. Under the label of 'Mongol', however, the Chinese system of ethnic administration also includes groups speaking several other Mongolic languages and major dialects, most of which are endangered. These include, in particular, Old and New Bargut (atypical forms of Buryat), Shinekhen Buryat (a diaspora form of Eastern Buryat on the Chinese side) and Manchurian Ölöt (a variety of Oyrat transferred from Jungaria [Djungaria] to Manchuria in the eighteenth century). Manchurian Ölöt is today critically endangered, with its speakers changing over to Chinese. The future of Bargut and Buryat is mainly threatened by the gradual loss of the atypical features in favour of standard Mongol, supported by the school system.

The most viable form of Mongolic in Manchuria apart from Mongol proper is Dagur, which is the ethnic language of a population of over 200,000 individuals. The Dagur (Dawoer) population is divided between several localities, including the Middle Amur basin in northern Manchuria (the original location of the language until the seventeenth century), the Nonni basin in central Manchuria (since the late seventeenth century) and the Hailar basin in western Manchuria (since the early eighteenth century). Among these, the most linguistically viable community today is formed by the Dagur-speakers in the Hailar basin, while the Dagur in the Amur basin are linguistically critically endangered. There is also a diaspora group in the Yili region of Jungaria (northern Xinjiang, since 1763). Historically, the Dagur may be seen as a satellite population of the Manchu, and Manchu used to serve as the literary language for Dagur-speakers. With the decline of Manchu, Dagur has more recently received some restricted use as a written language in its own right, though the main written languages used by Dagur-speakers today are Chinese and Mongol proper (written Mongol).

The decline of Manchu is a rare example of the loss of a language with a strong political and cultural status. Manchu was a direct descendant of Jurchen, the dynastic language of the Jin empire in Manchuria, and it received a new written form in 1599. By the nineteenth century it had at least 1 million speakers. After that time a process of Sinicization began that continues to the present day.

It should be noted that in the Chinese system of ethnic administration the Manchu still exist as a major population, comprising some 10 million people, the second-largest officially recognized minority nationality in China. This ethnicity is scattered all over the People's Republic, though a considerable proportion still lives in Manchuria. The Manchu language in Manchuria is, however, spoken in only two village-level localities, one in the Heihe region in the Middle Amur basin and the other in Fuyu County in the Nonni (Nenjiang) basin. Both of these represent traces of Manchu garrisons from the Qing period. The total number of Manchu-speakers was still some hundreds in the early 1960s (before China's Cultural Revolution), but it has now declined to fewer than ten individuals. There are, however, considerably more people, both ethnic Manchu and non-Manchu (especially ethnic Mongols), who are versatile in the Manchu written language, and interest has recently been expressed in the possibility of a revival of the spoken language.

Manchu also survives as both a spoken and a written language among a diaspora population in the Yili region of Jungaria, where a Manchu-speaking army unit was transferred in the late eighteenth century (1763). Officially, the Manchu-speakers in Jungaria are classified as belonging to the so-called Sibo (Xibe) nationality, which also has members in other areas of China, including Manchuria. The Sibo may originally have been a tribal entity within the Manchu, or even a separate ethnic group, but their current classification as a distinct ethnic group lacks a clear linguistic basis. Nevertheless, Manchu is today endangered, probably severely, also among the Sibo, though it still has some speakers of reproductive age.

The other Tungusic-speakers in Manchuria are officially divided into three ethnic groups, labelled Evenki (Ewenke), Orochen (Elunchun) and Hejen (Hezhe). Of these, the first two both speak varieties of the Evenki complex, which on the Siberian side is represented by the Evenki language (proper). An Evenki dialect of an actual Siberian origin is spoken by the so-called 'Yakut' Evenki (immigrants from Yakutia in the early nineteenth century), China's only reindeer-breeding population, who until the mid-twentieth century occupied the basin of the River Bystraya (Jiliuhe) in the Amur source region. This population comprises fewer than 200 individuals and is today severely endangered, if not critically endangered. The dialects spoken by the Orochen are linguistically more influenced by Manchu. Although the Orochen ethnic population comprises close to 10,000 people, the native language must be considered critically endangered, since all speakers have passed reproductive age.

The situation is more favourable for the two remaining groups of Evenki-speakers in Manchuria, the Khamnigan and the Solon. The Khamnigan are best defined on the basis of their Khamnigan Mongol language, which survives only in China. The Khamnigan are, however, ethnically bilingual and also speak two forms of Evenki (Khamnigan Evenki). Among the Khamnigan in China today, Evenki is clearly receding but the continuity of the language has not yet been disrupted. A similar situation of ethnic bilingualism is also characteristic of the Solon, who speak Evenki (Solon Evenki) as their basic language and Dagur as their second language.

Currently, Solon Evenki is the most viable form of any kind of Evenki, and, in fact, any kind of Tungusic. While Evenki, like all other Evenki-related groups in both Manchuria and Siberia, is either severely or critically endangered, the language still survives among at least 10,000 Solon Evenki-speakers. Linguistically, Solon is a strongly atypical form of Evenki and should probably be classified as a separate language, strongly influenced by Dagur and Manchu. The Solon are, however, also divided into several local and dialectal groups, corresponding to the historical division and movements of the Dagur.

The Hejen nationality in China is conventionally considered to form a local extension of the Nanay, as present also on the Russian side of the border. However, the Hejen in China are divided between speakers of two languages, one of which may be considered a dialect of Nanay (proper), while the other one is a 'mixed' language comprising features of both Nanay and Udege. This latter variety is today technically known as Kilen. An analogous 'mixed' language, comprising features of Nanay and Evenki and known as Kili, is recorded from the Russian side. Both Kilen and Kili are critically endangered, with only a handful of speakers left. The same is true of Nanay (proper) on the Chinese side.

Finally, there is also a Turkic language that used to be spoken in Manchuria. This is Manchurian Kirghiz, which historically represents a diaspora branch of Khakas, transferred from the Altai-Sayan region in connection with the Manchu conquest of Jungaria (in the mid-eighteenth century). The Manchurian Kirghiz may be seen as satellites of the Manchurian Ölöt, and both groups were probably transferred at the same time. Both Manchurian Kirghiz and Manchurian Ölöt were spoken in at least two locations in Manchuria, the Nonni basin and the Hailar basin. Today, only the Nonni groups remain in what is Fuyu County in central Manchuria. Out of an ethnic population of about 1,000, the number of Manchurian Kirghiz-speakers is today down to fewer than 5. The last speakers are trilingual in Manchurian Kirghiz, Manchurian Ölöt and Chinese. Formerly, a knowledge of Dagur was also common.

It is illuminating to compare the linguistic situation in the two parts of north-east Asia, Siberia (the Russian Federation) and Manchuria (China). Although China has copied the Soviet system of titular autonomy for minority nationalities, it has never copied the Soviet emphasis on language development. Thus, with the exception of Mongol and Manchu (as well as Korean), there are no minority languages with a functioning written standard in Manchuria today. Although there are several transnational languages spoken on both sides of the border, the literary languages created on the Russian side have never been used on the Chinese side. Even so, the situation of the oral languages is very similar on the two sides of the border, with most of the languages either critically endangered or severely endangered. In the case of Evenki, however, the survival of a transnational language seems to be more likely on the Chinese side. Ideally, cooperation across state borders could be used to support the Evenki language in Siberia.

Eastern Central Asia

In terms of physical geography and ethnic history, eastern Central Asia may be defined as the region comprising Mongolia, Jungaria (Dzungaria), Tarimia, Qinghai and Gansu. All of these were once parts of the Manchu empire of the Qing (1644–1911), but since the collapse of the empire the political situation has varied. Today, the region is divided between two independent states, Mongolia and China.

The languages spoken in eastern Central Asia represent four major genetic groups: Turkic, Mongolic, Bodic (Tibetan) and Sinitic (Chinese). Historically, Indo-European has also played an important role in the region, but its position today is marginal. As a result of recent historical developments, Tungusic has been introduced to the region. Turkic dominates today in Tarimia (south of the Tian Shan mountains), Mongolic in Mongolia, and Sinitic in Gansu, while Jungaria (north of the Tian Shan mountains) has both Turkic and Mongolic languages, as well as secondary islets of Tungusic. Qinghai, finally, offers the most diversified picture, with a considerable variety of Bodic, Mongolic, Turkic and Sinitic languages and major dialects, some of which are also spoken on the Gansu side.

The three most important native languages in eastern Central Asia are Mongol proper (or Mongolian) in Mongolia, Modern Uyghur in Tarimia, and Amdo Tibetan in Qinghai and parts of Gansu. All of these function as regional lingua francas, with between 1 million and 2 million Amdo Tibetan-speakers and between 7 million and 8 million Uyghur-speakers. The region's Sinitic languages come under the general label of North-West Mandarin, a group of idioms belonging to the Mandarin branch of Chinese. In addition, both during the Qing administration and especially after the founding of the People's Republic of China, Standard Mandarin (Putonghua) has spread to the region and is today used by an absolute majority of the population, a considerable part of which represents recent immigrants from other parts of China.

Among the speakers of Chinese and the regional non-Chinese languages live the region's smaller linguistic groups. Some of these, like the Kirghiz- and Uzbek-speakers in Tarimia and the Kazakh-speakers in Jungaria and western Mongolia, have nation-states elsewhere in Central Asia and cannot be regarded as linguistically endangered. Most other languages in the region must be classified as endangered either because they have very small numbers of speakers or because the number of speakers is declining rapidly. In most cases, these languages are not used for written communication.

Mongol proper is a relatively uniform language, though dialectal differences do exist, especially on the Inner Mongolian side. More substantially, there is a transition towards Buryat in the north, Ordos in the south and Oyrat in the west. Buryat, Ordos and Oyrat may all be defined as separate Mongolic languages, closely related to Mongol proper. Even so, the speakers of these languages in both Mongolia and China are systematically classified as ethnic 'Mongols', and they are served by the standardized written Mongol and Cyrillic Khalkha literary languages. On the Russian side, however, speakers of Buryat and Oyrat (Kalmyk) are recognized as separate ethnic groups. As a result, the speakers of Ordos, who live only in China (in the Ordos region at the border of Gansu and Inner Mongolia), are particularly severely endangered. The present-day number of fluent Ordos-speakers is probably only a fraction of an earlier estimate of approximately 100,000.

An idiosyncratic and critically endangered variety of Oyrat known as Henan Mongol is spoken by fewer than 100 people (out of an ethnic population of some 30,000) in Henan County of Huangnan Prefecture, located in the south-eastern part of Qinghai Province. The new ethnic language of the Henan Mongols is Amdo Tibetan. Due to the structural and lexical impact of Amdo Tibetan, Henan Mongol may be classified as a rapidly transformed and highly atypical variety of Oyrat, perhaps a separate Oyrat-based language.

The principal diversity of the Mongolic family in eastern Central Asia, however, is connected with the so-called Shirongolic branch of Mongolic, which comprises six to eight distinct idioms, all spoken in a relatively compact area in eastern Qinghai and adjoining parts of Gansu. Most importantly, the speakers of Mongghul, Mongghuor and Mangghuer, as well as the Qinghai Bonan-speakers, are classified as members of the so-called Tu nationality, conventionally also known as the 'Monguor'.

Of the Shirongolic languages, only Santa in and around Dongxiang County, southern Gansu, with some 500,000 speakers, all of them Muslim, may be considered safe for the time being, though its position might deteriorate rapidly in the near future due to better communications, rising levels of education and the growing impact of Chinese, both standard and local. Santa is also spoken by an unknown number of recent emigrants (since the 1960s) from their original ethnic area to parts of Gansu and Xinjiang. The number of permanent Santa immigrants in Xinjiang may be more than 50,000, and although the language is not totally lost in the second generation, its position in the diaspora is precarious due to the new ethnic, economic and administrative circumstances there.

In the 'Monguor' group, Mongghul, with perhaps 50,000 speakers, is the largest language. Even so, it is rapidly being lost, since its speakers are scattered among Chinese and Tibetan settlements in several counties of eastern Qinghai and central Gansu. By contrast, Mangghuer, with only some 30,000 speakers, has kept its position considerably better thanks to a coherent community structure. The situation of Mongghuor is unknown. Although Mongghuor (proto-typical 'Monguor') is the most completely documented variety of any Shirongolic language, it may always have been confined to a few village-level communities, which by the present time may or may not have been absorbed by either Mongghul or Chinese or both. Both Qinghai and Gansu Bonan, with a total of perhaps 15,000 speakers, are also village-level languages that are, however, relatively well preserved so far. Shira Yugur and Kangjia are critically endangered, with no child speakers. The number of elderly adult speakers of Shira Yugur may still be around 2,000, while Kangjia is spoken by fewer than 100 individuals (classified as 'Chinese Muslims').

Apart from the large Central Asian Turkic languages, Turkic is represented in eastern Central Asia by several minor idioms, none of which is safe. The largest and most vigorous entity is formed by the approximately 100,000 speakers of Salar, centred on Xunhua County of Qinghai Province. The language is not yet endangered as a whole, but many communities of Salar-speakers outside the central area are changing their language to local Chinese. Another Turkic language in the Gansu-Qinghai region is Saryg Yugur, also known as Western Yellow Uyghur. Saryg Yugur, like Shira Yugur in the immediate neighbourhood, has several thousand speakers, but in the absence of child speakers it must be classified as critically endangered.

In the Mongolian and Jungarian parts of the Altai-Sayan region, there are several minor Turkic idioms that belong taxonomically to the context of Sayan Turkic. These groups are generically known to the Mongols as 'Uryangkhai', a concept that also includes the speakers of Tuvan. Since the nineteenth century Tuvan has had diaspora groups in the Mongolian and Chinese Altay, where these groups are known as Altay Uryangkhai or Kök Munchak (Monchak). The Altay Uryangkhai probably number fewer than 10,000 individuals, most of whom are bilingual in either Oyrat or Mongol proper (Khalkha). Although knowledge of the ethnic language is declining, the loss is not fatal since Altay Uryangkhai speech is in a close dialectal relationship with Tuvan, one of the very few viable languages in the Asiatic part of the Russian Federation (the Tuva Republic).

In the context of Sayan Turkic, Tuvan, with its dialects, may be considered as constituting a western branch. An eastern branch is formed by several idioms spoken in the Eastern Sayan region across the Russo-Mongolian border. On the Russian side these idioms include Tofa (critically endangered) and Soyot (extinct), while on the Mongolian side there are Tukha or Tsaatan (to the west of Lake Khövsgöl) and Uighur Uryangkhai (to the east of Lake Khövsgöl). Tukha is the language of a reindeer-breeding community of fewer than 150 individuals and may be classified as severely endangered, while Uighur Uryangkhai is almost extinct, with fewer than 10 speakers.

In the Tibetan areas of eastern Central Asia there are several Bodic forms of speech that may or may not be classified as dialects of Amdo Tibetan, but that nevertheless might be distinct enough to require protection. Most of these idioms are spoken on the Sichuan side of the border (not covered in this chapter), but in Gansu and Qinghai there are also a few atypical Tibetan 'dialects' that should perhaps be classified as separate languages. The most obvious example is that of the dialects spoken in Jone County, southern Gansu (Gannan), which are unintelligible to the speakers of regular Amdo Tibetan. The diversity of Tibetan speech in the region is still little understood and the borderlines between dialects and languages remain to be determined. What is clear is that Tibetan is on the decline in Jone and some of the local forms of speech are already critically endangered. The languages replacing the earlier diversity are both regular Amdo Tibetan and local Chinese.

Some aspects of the linguistic map of eastern Central Asia are the result of centralized policies during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Soon after the region had become incorporated into the Manchu empire (1760), the Manchu Government moved sections of the earlier Jungarian population to Manchuria, thus creating the subsequent communities of Manchurian Oyrat (today severely endangered) and

Manchurian Kirghiz (today virtually extinct). At the same time, speakers of Mongolic Dagur as well as Tungusic Evenki (Solon Evenki) and Manchu were introduced from Manchuria to Jungaria, where traces of these immigrants have survived into modern times. Of these, the Jungarian variety of Evenki, also known as Ongkor Solon, became extinct in the 1990s, while Dagur and Manchu are still spoken by several thousand individuals.

Of the greatest potential significance is the presence of Manchu in Jungaria. These Manchu-speakers are officially classified as representing the separate 'Sibe' (Xibo) nationality, but, in spite of contact influences from other local languages (Kazakh, Uyghur, Mongol and Russian), their native language belongs to the spoken Manchu group, and they also use written Manchu as a literary medium. As the number of Manchu-speakers elsewhere in China has declined to a handful of individuals, the preservation of the language in Jungaria may be seen as a reserve that could be used for linguistic reinvigoration among the rest of the ethnic Manchu. Unfortunately, the native language is now declining also among the 'Sibe', and the number of remaining speakers is likely to be below 5,000, with very few young speakers. Without active measures, Manchu might be rapidly lost also in its last Jungarian refuge.

Before the introduction and expansion of the present-day languages of the region, the dominant language family in large parts of eastern Central Asia, especially in Tarimia, was Indo-European. In more recent history, not considering the colonial impact of Russia, only the Iranian branch has retained a marginal position in the region. Today, Iranian is represented on the Chinese side by two Pamirian languages, Wakhi and Sarikoli, whose speakers are officially identified as Tajiks (Tajike). Wakhi is also spoken in the neighbouring countries, while Sarikoli is confined to China. A trace of the former presence of Persian (or Tajik) in Tarimia is found in the so-called Eynu (Einu, Ejnu) or Abdal 'language', today spoken by fewer than 30,000 individuals. Eynu is probably best classified as a Uyghur dialect, but it incorporates an exceptionally large proportion of Persian lexical items.

India and the Himalayan chain

Stuart Blackburn and Jean Robert Opgenort

India and the Himalayan chain are home to one of the most intricate ethnolinguistic mosaics in the world. India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are dominated by Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi, Urdu, Bengali and Nepali, although several major Dravidian languages are spoken in South India and parts of Sri Lanka. These official, literary and scripted languages are not threatened. Most of the endangered languages in the region are the 180 or so Tibeto-Burman languages spoken by small communities clustered along the Himalayan chain, and extending down the India–Myanmar–Bangladesh border. Several Dravidian and a few Indo-Aryan, Austro-Asiatic and Daic languages spoken mostly in central, eastern and north-east India are also under threat. With a few exceptions, these endangered languages are without official status, a literary history, a script or sufficient state support.

We have extended the list of only 17 languages reported as under threat in this region in the second edition of this Atlas to a total of almost 300. Of these, more than 100 have been classified as vulnerable, almost 100 as definitely endangered, approximately two dozen as severely endangered, 40 or so as critically endangered and 10 as extinct. However, because reliable data concerning both their health and the number of speakers are not always available for many of the smaller languages, our classifications should be treated as provisional. In addition, a few languages classified as vulnerable might more accurately be described as ‘stable but potentially endangered’, as suggested by Krauss (2007). Most of these are languages with a comparatively large number of speakers such as Bodo, Khasi, Tamang and Ho. For languages beyond our own research (supplemented by that of colleagues), we have drawn primarily on figures reported in national censuses, the *Ethnologue* online database, the published work of George van Driem (1991, 2001, 2007*a*, 2007*b*) and unpublished data from Udaya Narayana Singh. These sources are often at variance with each other, however, and the census figures may sometimes appear inaccurate. For example, although Dura is, according to our data, extinct, the 2001 Nepalese census lists more than 3,000 speakers.

Nepal

Nepali, the official language of Nepal, is the mother tongue of more than 11 million people and the lingua franca throughout the country. Whereas the position of Nepali and three other regionally important Indo-Aryan languages (Awadhi, Bhojpuri and Maithili) is safe, more than sixty other languages are at risk. Several Indo-Aryan languages with a small number of speakers (Danuwar, Darai, Darma, Kumale and Majhi or Bote) are severely endangered because those speakers are rapidly adopting Nepali. The Dravidian language Dhangar and the Austro-Asiatic (Munda) language Satār have larger number of speakers but are also vulnerable.

The many Tibeto-Burman languages are at various stages of endangerment. We list more than forty vulnerable or definitely endangered languages, more than a dozen severely or critically endangered languages and one extinct language. The smallest and most endangered Tibeto-Burman languages (Barām, Dumi, Hayu, Sām and Yakkha) have very few speakers and are on the verge of extinction. Newar has around 825,500 speakers but is still endangered since it is losing out to Nepali.

Changing language politics

In Nepal, reasons for the present decline of minority languages include lack of state encouragement and the simultaneous cultivation of a national identity based on Nepali. From the unification of Nepal in the late eighteenth century up to the 1990s, the government promoted monolingualism and suppressed the rights of linguistic minorities. After the People's Movement brought an end to absolute monarchy in 1990, the new Constitution acknowledged the multilingual character of the country; it declared that Nepali was 'the official language of the nation' and that minority languages were 'national languages' (the distinction between these terms was not entirely clear). Article 18 of the new Constitution also allowed communities the fundamental right to promote their own language and to use it as the medium of instruction at primary-school level, but failed to provide any institutional support.

Since 1990, activists within minority communities have been freely promoting their languages in the media and through various campaigns in order to increase cultural awareness and literacy. The new freedoms have given rise to numerous newspapers, magazines and broadcasts in minority languages. In spite of these efforts, however, activists have had limited success in protecting endangered languages. Many of them are giving way to Nepali as the language of civil administration, law, commerce and the media. The right to operate schools remains mostly unexercised. In brief, state support for minority languages has been largely symbolic.

Since the 2006 Democracy Movement against the monarchy and the adoption of an Interim Constitution in 2007, linguistic minority groups have been given additional rights to use their mother tongue in local organizations and government offices. In Nepal today, there is an ongoing debate about local autonomy and language use in areas where minorities are the dominant population. In the long run, this may lead to a Swiss-model federal system in which minority languages are used in local government.

Bhutan

Dzongkha, which has a direct linguistic relationship to modern Tibetan, is the official national language of Bhutan. Although it has approximately 160,000 speakers, it is marginalized by the extensive use of English throughout Bhutan and by Nepali, which is spoken in much of the south of the country. The official newspaper, *Kuensel*, publishes Dzongkha-, Nepali- and English-language versions.

None of the several Tibeto-Burman languages in Bhutan is considered to be safe. Although the sociolinguistic situation in Bhutan is more stable than in Nepal, all languages are threatened, and the use of the mother tongue among minority populations is declining. We list half the native languages as vulnerable and the other half as definitely endangered. All but two languages have fewer than 40,000 speakers. According to van Driem (2007*a*, p. 294), Lhokpu is 'the most endangered language in Bhutan, which is threatened by linguistic assimilation to the surrounding communities of Nepali colonists in southwestern Bhutan', and 'the least endangered language in Bhutan is the Tshangla or Shâchop language'.

India

Endangered languages are spoken in every state in India, but they cluster in two main regions – north-east and central-east India – where 'tribal' populations dominate. Of the 170 or so languages under threat, more than half are Tibeto-Burman languages in north-east India (mostly in Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland) that are reported in this Atlas for the first time. Other endangered languages include two dozen Austro-Asiatic languages spoken in eastern India and the Nicobar Islands, about one dozen Tibeto-Burman languages in the western Himalayan states of Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand, nearly two dozen Dravidian languages in central and South India, about two dozen Indo-Aryan languages in central and northern India, and, finally, a handful of Daic languages in the north-eastern state of Assam.

The reasons for language decline and possible extinction are not linguistic. These languages are not falling away because they lack a complex grammar or an extensive vocabulary. They are in decline because they are unfashionable and are not transmitted at home, have limited state support and are not taught at school. In India, where languages and scripts underpin regional identities and political power, these unofficial and unscripted languages are at a distinct disadvantage.

Intervention policy

Languages gain 'official' status only when included in the 8th Schedule of the Indian Constitution. When the Constitution was first adopted in 1950, it listed fourteen official languages, and eight more have since been added. However, the only endangered languages to be granted this official status are Meithei (Manipuri) and Bodo. Meithei is atypical since it is a mixture of Tibeto-Burman and Indic, with a literature once written in its own (now lost) script and in Devanagari (Bengali version) from about 1700. Bodo was approved in 2003, as part of a political compromise to end an insurgency in Assam.

Government support for endangered languages could be further developed at the level of individual states, which is crucial since states determine the medium of instruction and language use in local government. By law, several endangered languages are approved for use in state (or district-level) schools, but few are regularly heard in the classroom. While most of the large, vulnerable languages are taught at school, the great majority of them do not enjoy even this modest status in their own communities.

Indian states are free to adopt one or more languages as the official language(s), and several in the north-east have chosen a vulnerable language spoken by a large percentage of the state's population as one of their official languages (Meithei in Manipur, Bodo in Assam, Kokborok in Tripura, Mizo in Mizoram, Garo and Khasi in Meghalaya). The extensive linguistic diversity in Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh has produced a different situation. No single local language is spoken by a sufficiently large percentage of the population to make it acceptable as an official state language. As a result, English alone is the official language in Nagaland and Hindi enjoys that status in Arunachal Pradesh. These decisions also reflect a desire to claim a cultural identity independent of Assam/India/Hinduism. In Nagaland, some Naga languages are taught at school, but mostly in rural areas. A lingua franca, Nagamese, is widely used in urban contexts where speakers of mutually unintelligible languages mix together. However, because Nagamese is a pidgin, deriving mostly from Assamese and Hindi, some people see it as representing an unwelcome degree of Indian influence. English, which is often part of the Christian Naga identity, is thus the default position.

In Arunachal Pradesh, about two-thirds of the total population of just over 1 million people are mother-tongue speakers of one of approximately thirty endangered languages, all of which are Tibeto-Burman (with the exception of Khampti, which is Daic). The other third of the state's population are recent immigrants whose mother tongue is an Indo-Aryan language (mostly Hindi, Bengali or Assamese) and who work as civil servants, businesspeople, shopkeepers and labourers. With Christian conversions and English-language education far less advanced than in Nagaland, Hindi was chosen as the state's official language in 1987. Assamese had been the medium of instruction until the 1970s, but current official policy is that English should be used at all levels of education. In practice, however, Hindi dominates in schools, as it does in government offices.

Lack of a script

Another crippling fact for most of India's threatened languages is that they lack a viable script. While scripts have been invented (rediscovered and revived) for several languages, very few are used with any regularity in schools or public life. Many of these languages appear in print (in Roman, Devanagari or an invented script) as Christian prayer-books and biblical translations, particularly in the north-east; and this usage may prove to be a lifeline for them. Some threatened languages also appear in the classroom, but they are typically pushed aside in favour of English- and Hindi-language schoolbooks printed in the Latin and Devanagari alphabets.

Lack of a script does not necessarily mean illiteracy. Figures for literacy can be misleading, however, because, first, the Indian census reports the ability to read and write in any language and, second, such ability is self-reported and not tested. Thus, the 2001 literacy rates for north-east India are impressive: 88 per cent for Mizoram; over 65 per cent for Meghalaya, Nagaland and Manipur; 55 per cent for Arunachal Pradesh; and 65 per cent for India as a whole. But they actually reflect competence in Hindi (and/or English and/or Bengali), while speakers of endangered languages remain illiterate in their mother tongues.

Another, poorly studied, dimension of endangerment in India is that loss occurs in stages, as different varieties of speech within that language disappear. Since most threatened languages in the region are spoken by people who practise (or practised) some form of a local religion other than (but usually mixed with) Hinduism, Buddhism or (now)

Christianity, many of these languages have a speech variety used by ritual specialists to address spirits. Defined by its esoteric vocabulary, rather than grammar, this ritual speech (or oral poetry) is usually the first level of language to disappear. A second vulnerable speech variety is that used in traditional storytelling because it relies on allusions and tropes, characters and ideas, which belong to a mythic world that is replaced by modernization.

Bangladesh

According to the *Ethnologue* report for Bangladesh, the country is home to thirty-nine languages, including several varieties of Bengali. With more than 200 million speakers, Bengali (Bangla) is the primary language spoken in Bangladesh as well as the national and official language. Most minority languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman language family and are spoken in the India–Myanmar–Bangladesh borderlands. These linguistic communities are largely concentrated in eastern India or Myanmar, although a significant number of speakers also live in Bangladesh.

Sak and Mru are two severely endangered languages spoken in the Chittagong Hill tracts of south-east Bangladesh. The Sak people are ethnically related to the Chakma, who now speak a distinctive kind of Bengali. The ways of life and cultures of many of the Tibeto-Burman groups in the Chittagong Hill tracts have been under threat for several decades.

Sri Lanka

Of the major nations in the region, Sri Lanka is the least heterogeneous linguistically. Approximately 70 per cent of its 13 million population speak Sinhala (closely related to Indo-Aryan languages in India), while about 25 per cent speak Tamil, a dialect of the language spoken in South India. A very small population (estimated at around 300) speaks the endangered language of Vedda, itself related to Sinhala, but it may be extinct within a decade.

Conclusion

The threat to many vulnerable languages in India and the Himalayan chain is difficult to judge. In many cases, intergenerational transmission is healthy. The majority of children learn their mother tongue and speak it among themselves and to others most of the time. At school and through the media, however, they also learn Hindi, Nepali, English, Tamil (or another dominant regional language); and some children sometimes speak these languages among themselves and with outsiders. A few children, mostly in elite families, use one of these dominant languages at home, but not exclusively. Even when the mother tongue is still spoken fairly widely, it is usually marginalized in the bi- and trilingualism that is the norm throughout the subcontinent, especially among mother-tongue speakers of endangered languages.

Most of these vulnerable languages will probably survive, and will continue to be learned by the majority of children as their mother tongue, for several decades into the future. Others, however, will surely decline, some will hover near extinction and a few will have disappeared by 2100.

People who speak many of these threatened languages in India and the Himalayan chain tell a story about how they once had, but then lost, a script (in order to explain away their illiteracy amid literate and dominant neighbours). It is not at all certain, however, that their grandchildren will command enough of their mother tongue to tell the story of their own language loss in the future.

South-East Asia, southern China and Taiwan (China)

David Bradley

South-East Asia

This section gives a brief description of the distribution and linguistic relationships of the endangered and some recently extinct languages of the various nations of South-East Asia. Brunei Darussalam is not discussed as it has no indigenous endangered languages. Many of the languages described here are also found in the surrounding areas – Bangladesh, India, China and Indonesia – in some cases, often referred to by other names.

Most of the countries in this area have recognized the rights of their indigenous minority groups, and some have carried out formal classification of these groups, such as the 54 ethnic groups of Viet Nam, the 49 ethnic groups of the Lao People's Democratic Republic (PDR) according to the 2002 classification, and the 135 ethnic groups of Myanmar. In others such as Thailand there is a gradually growing list of recognized ethnic groups. Naturally, there are some inconsistencies between the classifications used in different countries. For example, there is a greater tendency to recognize small distinct groups in Viet Nam than in neighbouring China, which means that different languages and groups may be lumped together with one or more others within a national minority of China, but recognized as distinct ethnic groups in Viet Nam. However, the official classifications are not able to reflect the extreme linguistic complexity in the field, and in many cases the groups with the smallest and most vulnerable languages are not given separate ethnic group status, sometimes explicitly because of their small populations.

Language stocks represented in the area include Austro-Asiatic or more specifically Mon-Khmer, Sino-Tibetan including primarily Tibeto-Burman, and Austro-Thai including Austronesian and Thai-Kadai. Some scholars include Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao) within Austro-Thai, but others prefer to regard this as a separate stock. There are also some creoles with European lexicon, as well as various languages of wider communication from outside the area. Among the endangered languages, the Austro-Asiatic languages form the largest proportion, but there are some from every stock.[1]

Cambodia

Cambodia has twenty indigenous languages, according to the sixteenth edition of the *Ethnologue* (Lewis, 2009). This includes the Austronesian Western Cham and Jarai languages and the Thai-Kadai Lao language in the north-east, and a wide variety of Austro-Asiatic languages from different subgroups including Pearic, Khmer, Vietic, Bahnaric and Katuic.

Even Western Cham with its large population is vulnerable; the language is distinct from Eastern Cham as spoken in Viet Nam, whence Western Cham came in the seventeenth century. There is also one Western Cham village embedded in central Bangkok, the speakers brought from Cambodia as silk weavers in the mid-nineteenth century; they retain their Islamic faith and their professional skills, but have lost their language.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic

Of the endangered languages of the Lao PDR identified here, most are only at the stage of being definitely endangered, and many more currently relatively safe languages have very small speaker populations. There is one critically endangered language, Iduh (also spoken in Viet Nam), and there are two severely endangered languages, Arem and Bana. About two dozen languages are definitely endangered, and three more, the Thai-Kadai languages Tai Daeng and Tai Neua and the Tibeto-Burman language Phunoi, are vulnerable.

Of the Tibeto-Burman languages, Bana is the most endangered and Phunoi is the least. Akeu and Sila are definitely endangered; the former is also spoken in Thailand, Myanmar and China, while the latter is also spoken in Viet Nam. The dialect differences within Phunoi are very great, with one dialect, Laopan, being fairly similar to Bisu of Thailand, Myanmar and China, and other dialects being more similar to Côông of Viet Nam or Sangkong of China.

The Austro-Asiatic languages fall into various subgroups, especially Vietic in the south with a dozen languages, but also representing Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmuic and Angkuic branches, with most of these languages (other than Arem, as noted above) definitely endangered. Several of the Vietic languages are also spoken in nearby Viet Nam, as is Khmuic Iduh; Mlabri is also spoken in Thailand, Pasing also in China, while Mok is also spoken in Thailand, Myanmar and China.

The endangered Thai-Kadai language Saek is also spoken in Thailand, where it is severely endangered; Tai Neua is also spoken in Viet Nam. A large number of small localized varieties of other Thai-Kadai languages of the eastern Lao PDR and Austro-Asiatic languages in the southern Lao PDR could also be classified as vulnerable, or becoming so. As education and communications in the Lao PDR improve, the language endangerment situation for all minority groups may be expected to worsen, especially as the government is focusing on education in Lao, the national language.

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[1] *Much of the data for this discussion and listing are drawn from Bradley (2007a, 2007b, 2007c) and Wurm (2007a, 2007b), as well as from more recent fieldwork by myself and by colleagues and students. I would specifically like to acknowledge the assistance of Gérard Diffloth, Jamin Pelkey and Suwilai Premsrirat, as well as those already acknowledged in my earlier publications on this topic. Naturally, they are not responsible for any errors that I may have introduced in my analysis of their data.*

Malaysia

Malaysia has a great deal of linguistic diversity. In the East Malaysian states of Sarawak and Sabah, all the indigenous languages are Austronesian, and many are under increasing pressure from genetically related Malay, the national language. This includes many larger groups not listed here as endangered, but whose languages have been losing domains of use and tend to have fewer younger community members who can speak them well.

Four languages of East Malaysia are listed here as endangered, following Wurm (2007*a*, 2007*b*); one could list many more groups with small populations whose languages will probably soon be endangered. In some cases, local communities are already undertaking language revival efforts, as they are aware of this imminent danger.

The languages of peninsular Malaysia include one extinct language, Kenaboi, whose classification is a matter of controversy, as well as a few groups with distinctive endangered Malay languages. Some of these overlap into nearby countries, such as severely endangered Orang Seletar whose speakers also live in Singapore and Indonesia, and definitely endangered Urak Lawoi' whose speakers also live in Thailand. Others are indigenous groups who have probably switched from speaking Austro-Asiatic Aslian languages to speaking Malay languages, such as extinct Orang Kanaq, severely endangered Temuan and definitely endangered Orang Hulu. All of these Malay languages are under severe pressure from local and standard Malay varieties, which are in the process of supplanting them.

The majority of the endangered languages of peninsular Malaysia, including many not listed here as they have been extinct for a fairly long time, are those of the indigenous Negrito groups speaking Austro-Asiatic Aslian languages. The term Aslian comes from the Malay expression Orang Asli ('original people'), which is the official term for these groups. However, all their languages or language clusters have contracted greatly, losing dialects and territory, and are continuing to do so. Many more may soon become severely endangered or worse. Two of these languages are also spoken in adjacent areas of Thailand.

Malaysia also has one indigenous Portuguese-based creole spoken in Melaka (formerly known as Malacca), which has persisted from the initial Portuguese colonial period through the Dutch and British periods and since independence. Although it is now recognized as an indigenous language of Malaysia, it is severely endangered, with only a part of the community, mainly older adults, still able to speak it.

Myanmar

Myanmar lacks up-to-date documentation on the language situation. The last adequate census was in 1931, the government classification of 135 ethnic groups is somewhat questionable, and the current situation is not conducive to field research, especially among the ethnic minorities.

Three of the endangered Tibeto-Burman languages, Chawte, Mru and Sak, overlap into Bangadesh and/or India. Tibeto-Burman Akeu and Austro-Asiatic Mok are also found in Thailand, the Lao PDR and China. Of the remaining Tibeto-Burman languages, Bisu is also spoken in China and Thailand, Anung and Laomian are also spoken in China, and the rest are only spoken in Myanmar. The Austronesian language Moklen is also spoken in Thailand as is the Austro-Asiatic language Mon, while the Austro-Asiatic language Danaw is only spoken in Myanmar.

Standard Burmese is spreading at the expense of most other indigenous languages, though less rapidly than the national languages of many surrounding countries.

The Philippines

The indigenous languages of the Philippines are all Austronesian languages; there were also some Spanish-based creoles that developed during the Spanish colonial period, most of which are now extinct but one of which, Chavacano, is very vigorous, mainly in the south of the country.

Of the many Austronesian languages, according to Wurm (2007*a*, 2007*b*) at least thirteen have 500 or fewer speakers. Other languages are vulnerable, with slightly larger speaker numbers. There are many more small languages that may become endangered as the national language, Pilipino, based on Tagalog, as well as major regional languages, spread.

Thirteen of the endangered and extinct Austronesian languages are or were spoken by small groups of Negritos, using related language names such as Agta, Alta, Arta, Ayta, Atta or Ata; these are further specified according to where they are spoken. Similar languages in other places, some using exactly the same names, are less endangered; and some others are long extinct. These Negrito populations, scattered across the northern and central Philippines, are the original indigenous peoples whose languages were replaced by those of incoming Austronesian-speaking groups when they came from the north, probably several millennia ago.

One definitely endangered language, Batak, has the same name as a large cluster of languages in Sumatra, Indonesia, but is not related to those languages other than also being Austronesian.

Singapore

Singapore has four official languages, Mandarin Chinese, English, Malay and Tamil. The rapid spread of Mandarin started in 1979 with a 'Speak Mandarin' campaign, which has been so successful that all of the various non-Mandarin Chinese varieties spoken in Singapore, which were the mother tongues of about two-thirds of all Singaporeans at that time, are in rapid decline and are now endangered to a substantial degree, though of course they survive in China and elsewhere.

Malay persists in Singapore, but primarily among the Malay ethnic group, and it is not the primary language for many younger Malays. There is also a very small Orang Seletar community in the north-west of the island, but this language is severely endangered here, as in Malaysia and Indonesia.

The Tamil group is shifting to English, though of course Tamil is still extremely vital in India. Other smaller groups from India are also undergoing language shift to English away from languages such as Malayalam, Telugu and Punjabi. The language that is gaining both in proportion of use and in speaker numbers is Singapore English, a distinctive New English widely used by nearly everyone in Singapore even if not officially encouraged.

Thailand

(*With Suwilai Premsrirat, Mahidol University, Thailand*)

Thailand has seventy indigenous languages, belonging to various linguistic groups: Austro-Asiatic and Thai-Kadai in many areas, Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao) and Tibeto-Burman mainly in the north and Austronesian mainly in the south.

The languages of the Austro-Asiatic group include extinct Phalok, three critically endangered languages, four severely endangered languages and six definitely endangered languages. These fall into many different major subgroups of Austro-Asiatic, including Aslian in the south, Pearic in the east, Vietic in the north-east, Monic in the central region and Khmuic, Angkuic and Palaungic in the north. The Mon language was the traditional language of the Dvaravati and some other Mon kingdoms of central Thailand, but has been replaced there by Thai over the last millennium. The remnants of this language survive in the hills between central and north-east Thailand, under the name Nyahkur. Other Mon came from Myanmar at various times in the nineteenth century and settled around Bangkok; in Thailand their distinctive Mon varieties from Myanmar are severely endangered, much more so than the same language is in Myanmar.

Some of these languages, like many other Austro-Asiatic languages, are found in the remote border areas of several countries. For example, the Mok are widely scattered in the north-western Lao PDR, northern Thailand, north-east Myanmar and the far south-west of China; the Mlabri and Thavung live in both Thailand and the Lao PDR; several Pearic groups live in Thailand and Cambodia; some of the Aslian groups of Thailand also live in Malaysia; and the Mon-speakers, as noted above, now live mainly in Myanmar.

The two Austronesian languages of the south are definitely endangered Moklen and Urak Lawoi'. These are both spoken by populations of what are sometimes called Sea Gypsies in English, Chao Thalay ('sea people') in Thai, Saloun in Burmese and Orang Laut ('sea people') in Malaysia. Moklen is also spoken in Myanmar, and Urak Lawoi' is also spoken in Malaysia.

Of the four Tibeto-Burman languages that are endangered in Thailand, two are spoken only in Thailand, severely endangered Gong and Mpi. Two others, definitely endangered Bisu and Akeu, are spoken elsewhere – Bisu in Myanmar and China, and Akeu in Myanmar, the Lao PDR and China.

Some of the endangered languages of Thailand are in small isolated populations brought from elsewhere by the Thai kings over the centuries. They include the one severely endangered Thai-Kadai language of Thailand, Saek, and two of the Tibeto-Burman languages, severely endangered Mpi and definitely endangered Bisu. Other similar enclave groups also tend to lose their languages over time, but the languages may survive elsewhere; for example, the Lao Song of Thailand are Tai Dam from what is now north-west Viet Nam, and are losing their language to varying degrees across Thailand, but the language survives well in Viet Nam.

Viet Nam

As noted above, Viet Nam has a fairly liberal policy as regards granting official ethnic group status even to fairly small groups, but this is an ethnic classification rather than a linguistic one, and it has not extended to every one of the smallest groups whose languages are most endangered. Of the endangered languages listed for Viet Nam, three are critically endangered: Austro-Asiatic Iduh and two of the three Thai-Kadai Gelao languages, Green Gelao and Red Gelao. Three more are severely endangered: White Gelao as well as Austro-Asiatic Khang Quang Lam and Arem. Another seventeen are definitely endangered, with six more vulnerable. Further, the Kolao ethnic group includes the three Gelao groups, the Chut ethnic group includes a total of six groups with closely related Vietic languages, and the Thai ethnic group comprises the two Tai languages Tai Daeng and Tai Neua, as well as various other related languages further north. The Iduh are listed in the Vietnamese ethnic classification as O-du; another Austro-Asiatic group, Khang Quang Lam, speaks one of several languages included together in the Khang ethnic group; two Tibeto-Burman groups can loosely fit into the Phula ethnic group; and the Nung Ven speak a language closely related to Gelao.

In spite of Viet Nam's successful classification system and its policy of support for ethnic minorities, its language maintenance programme has not been systematic. This may be changing, as new educational initiatives towards mother-tongue schooling are under way.

Of the six Tibeto-Burman languages, vulnerable Côông is very similar to Phunoi of the Lao PDR, and the Sila or Sida of Viet Nam and the Lao PDR speak the same definitely endangered language. Definitely endangered Cosung is also spoken in China, where speakers are included in the Lahu nationality along with those of at least four other languages; the Cosung ethnic group of Viet Nam is sometimes also called La Hu, according to the group's own name for itself. Definitely endangered Laghuu, Mo'ang and Phula are all also spoken in nearby China, where some of them are less endangered.

Of the endangered Austro-Asiatic languages, seven are Vietic, one is Bahnaric, two are Khmuic, and Mang is part of the recently proposed Mang or Pakanic subgroup. Some of the Vietic languages are also spoken in the nearby Lao PDR, as is Iduh; Mang is also spoken in China. Viet Nam is particularly rich in Thai-Kadai languages of the Kadai subgroup (it has seven), three of which are also spoken in China which is their original homeland. However, all three are better maintained in Viet Nam, although they are critically or severely endangered there as well. The Austronesian languages include definitely endangered Eastern Cham and vulnerable Chru. Finally, there is one Hmong-Mien language, Baheng, which is potentially endangered in China but probably somewhat more so in Viet Nam, where its speakers are classified as members of the Pà Then ethnic group. Interestingly, though this language is better maintained in China, it is not given separate national minority status there, unlike in Viet Nam.

Conclusion

Overall, we may expect that large numbers of additional small languages in this region will soon move into one of the endangered categories, and most of those already at some stage in the process of language shift may continue to move in that direction. Most of the critically or severely endangered languages may be expected to disappear, even if language maintenance efforts start now. As is well known (Bradley, 2002), attitudes and motivation are the principal factors in the survival of languages, and the conditions in much of this area are not favourable at present.

On the other hand, there are some promising examples of community-based language maintenance efforts, such as among the Bisu community in Thailand (Person, 2005) and the Gong, Thavung and Chong communities also in Thailand, under the leadership of local scholars such as Professor Suwilai Premsrirat, who also contributed data on Thailand for the relevant section in the present chapter. Government efforts through schools are also starting in Viet Nam and elsewhere.

Southern China

The southern part of China has a very large number of endangered languages. These fall into four main genetic stocks: the Tibeto-Burman part of Sino-Tibetan, with Sinitic (Chinese) being the other part; the Austro-Thai stock, including its components Thai-Kadai and Austronesian; the Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao) stock, which some scholars prefer to include as a third part of Austro-Thai; and the Mon-Khmer part of the Austro-Asiatic stock. There are also two contact languages: one critically endangered

Portuguese creole spoken in Macao, and one possible mixed language spoken in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.

Many Sinitic varieties have been losing speakers and domains of use since 1950, while the national standard language Putonghua ('common speech'), based on Northern Mandarin, has been spreading rapidly. This may eventually mean that the extremely distinct local varieties of Chinese in the south-east will become endangered, starting from some cities. For example, this process has begun in Shanghai, but is less advanced in Guangzhou and much less so in Hong Kong. Putonghua and/or some other local Chinese variety is also usually the language that is replacing the endangered languages of southern China.[2]

Tibeto-Burman

The Tibeto-Burman languages of China include many that are not endangered, some with very large speaker populations. Some of these have decreasing proportions of the community who can speak their traditional language, and several dialects are disappearing or have disappeared, for example among the Qiang national minority.

Of the Bodic (Tibetan and closely related) languages of China, two endangered languages are spoken both in south-east Tibet and in adjacent areas of India and Bhutan; these are Cuona Menba and Motuo Menba. Another vulnerable Bodic language, Baima, is spoken in south-west Gansu Province and in nearby north-west Sichuan Province.

Some other endangered Tibeto-Burman languages of north-east India also overlap into south-east Tibet, but most of their speaker populations are much larger in India. The only overlapping language that has more speakers in China than in India is the recently located Zaiwa, Zha, Meyol or Zakhring language, with 700 speakers in China and 300 in India (Jacquesson, 2001).

Most of the groups speaking languages of the Qiangic subgroup of Tibeto-Burman are classified as members of the Tibetan national minority and live in western Sichuan Province. This includes some non-endangered languages as well as vulnerable or definitely endangered Choyo, Ersu, Guichong, Muya, Zhaba, Shixing and Namuyi.

The Tujia national minority has two languages spoken in the south-west of Hunan Province, Northern Tujia or Biji and Southern Tujia or Mozi; both are severely endangered, and spoken only by a very small part of the Tujia population in very restricted areas (for more details, see Brassett and Brassett, 2005). Both may soon become critically endangered as very few children are now using them. The Bai national minority is concentrated in the west of Yunnan Province, and all the languages and dialects they speak are in decline. The most endangered language within the Bai national minority is severely endangered Laemae, Lama or Northern Bai. Of the Nungish languages, the Anung language of part of the Nu national minority is critically endangered in China, but only severely endangered in Myanmar.

The majority of the endangered Tibeto-Burman languages of southern China are Ngwi languages. Ngwi is called Yi Branch in Chinese, and was formerly called Loloish in English; a blended form Yipho is also sometimes seen. These form one component of the

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[2] *The principal sources used for this section are Bradley (2007a, 2007b, 2007c) and Shearer and Sun (2002). I have also used recent field data of my own, and am very glad to acknowledge recent information from Sun Hongkai and from Jamin Pelkey, as well as a draft version of the China section of the* Ethnologue *(Lewis, 2009), which is however not yet available for citation.*

Burmic, Burmese-Lolo or Lolo-Burmese subfamily, along with Burmish. Among the Burmish languages of China, two are endangered, Chintaw critically and Bola definitely. Among the Ngwi languages, many languages or clusters of languages are endangered, at levels ranging from potential to critical. The degree of endangerment often differs from place to place; for example, the Sanie language just west of Kunming is now critically endangered in some villages, severely endangered in others and only definitely endangered in some others (Bradley, 2005).

Depending on how they are broken up, there may be far more distinct endangered languages here; for example, Pelkey (2005) reports twenty-one languages within what is here classified into the three South-eastern Ngwi languages Phula, Muji and Mo'ang, all considered by Chinese linguists to form part of the south-eastern dialect of the Yi language along with non-endangered Sani, Axi, Azhe and Azha. Phula and Mo'ang, as well as related Laghuu, are also spoken in Viet Nam. In a recent work, Pelkey (2007) classifies these into even more languages, based on recent detailed survey fieldwork.

Austro-Thai

The Thai-Kadai stock within Austro-Thai is usually divided into Kadai and Kam-Tai major subgroups. Zhuang-Dong is the usual term used for Kam-Tai in China; the Kam-Sui subgroup is known as Dong, the Chinese name for the Kam, in China.

The Thai-Kadai endangered languages of southern China include eight Kadai languages, all severely or critically endangered. Three are spoken by people classified within the Gelao national minority (all of them are also spoken in Viet Nam), as well as five other languages classified within various other national minorities, including Pupeo (also spoken in Viet Nam), Laji (which is similar but not identical to Lachi as spoken in Viet Nam) and Buyang, Mulao and Yerong. Mulao should not be confused with the much larger Mulam group whose Kam-Sui language is only vulnerable. Qaw has become extinct fairly recently; some other Kadai languages have been extinct for much longer, and the vast majority of the members of the Gelao nationality do not speak any kind of Gelao language. Several of these languages are somewhat better maintained in Viet Nam, where they are relatively recent migrants, than in the original territory of western Guizhou Province.

The endangered Kam-Tai languages include those of three small groups not recognized as separate national minorities, Lajia, Mak and Rao, and two that are recognized, Maonan and Mulam, the latter usually cited in official sources as Mulao but not to be confused with the Kadai language, Mulao. In addition, many of the smaller subdialects and dialects of languages in southern China within Thai or Tai proper are also in decline.

While there are many endangered Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan, the only such language of China is Utsat or Tsat of Hainan Island, whose Chamic language, related to the Chamic languages of southern Viet Nam, is definitely endangered. As its speakers are Muslim, they have been classified in the Hui or Muslim nationality of China, and are also sometimes called Huihui in Chinese sources.

Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao)

All Chinese sources and older foreign sources refer to this group as Miao-Yao, following the Chinese names for the two large language clusters that it includes. Hmong-Mien is based on the autonyms of two large groups from within these two language clusters who also live in

South-East Asia, especially in Viet Nam and the Lao PDR but also in Thailand. The endangered languages from within this group are in two other subgroups: the Bunu languages, all included within the Yao national minority along with the Yao languages, with some non-endangered languages as well as five that are endangered, including one, Baheng, also spoken in Viet Nam. The most critically endangered Hmong-Mien language is the She language, spoken in Guangdong Province in two areas by a tiny proportion of the rather large population of the She national minority.

Austro-Asiatic

All the Austro-Asiatic languages of China are in the Mon-Khmer subgroup. They include various non-endangered languages in the Wa and De'ang national minorities, some of the languages in the Bulang national minority, and the dialect of Vietnamese spoken by members of the Jing national minority. The definitely endangered languages are some of the Angkuic languages whose speakers are classified within the Bulang national minority, Hu and Mok, both also spoken in one or more countries of South-East Asia. Another three languages form a recently proposed subgroup within Mon-Khmer now called Pakanic. This includes definitely endangered Pakan and severely endangered Paliu and Mang; the last is also spoken in Viet Nam. The Pakanic languages are the north-easternmost languages of the entire Mon-Khmer and Austro-Asiatic group.

Creoles and mixed languages

There is one critically endangered creole Portuguese variety still spoken in Macao, though most of its speaker population moved to Portugal prior to the return of Macao to China in December 1999. It was formerly also spoken by some of the Macanese community in Hong Kong, but probably disappeared there at least twenty years ago. This creole is being supported by community activity, but the last speakers are now quite old and most remaining community members speak decreolized Portuguese instead.

Shearer and Sun (2002, p. 268) briefly discuss Wuse or E speech. Foreign scholars have suggested that this is a Thai-Kadai language with very extensive lexical and phonological influence from a local Cantonese Chinese variety, but Chinese scholars regard it as a mixed language with Chinese as well as Tai-Kadai components from three surrounding languages. Whatever its origin, it is vulnerable.

Conclusion

The definition of what constitutes a separate language is a major issue in classifying the languages of southern China; Chinese linguists tend to classify as dialects what would be regarded as separate languages elsewhere. Another important issue is the lack of complete surveys of some areas in the south-west of the country. Chinese linguists have been doing extensive and excellent work for many years, but most of them concentrate on the official languages of the fifty-five recognized national minorities. For these reasons, the information here is unlikely to be complete and will almost certainly need to be revised when further information becomes available.

It is also likely that the degree of endangerment of most of the languages listed will continue to increase. In 1982 the two Tujia languages were reported to have over 170,000 speakers, but by 2000 this had decreased by nearly two-thirds to 70,000 and it is continuing to decrease. A similar picture is found elsewhere, and the process is accelerating with improvements in education and communications, and economic progress.

Taiwan (China)

The indigenous languages of Taiwan are all Austronesian, and represent the maximum internal genetic diversity within Austronesian, with nine major subgroups, including one, Yami (an exonym) or Tao (the group autonym) of Lanyu or Orchid Island, which is more closely related to languages further south in the Philippines and to the rest of Austronesian. Thus Taiwan is presumably the origin point of all Austronesian languages. The majority language is now Southern Min Chinese, sometimes called Taiwanese, with substantial numbers of Hakka and since 1945 a number of speakers of other varieties of Chinese. The official language is Mandarin Chinese.

Until the Japanese colonial period (1895–1945), most of the indigenous languages of the mountains and east coast survived fairly well, while those of the west coast were being replaced by varieties of Chinese. During the Japanese period, a language tip started; since then, various languages have become extinct and all others have become endangered. Six are now critically endangered, with speaker numbers from one (Pazeh) down in the low twenties. All the other surviving languages are definitely endangered and in rapid decline in most areas, with child speakers only in a few areas, even for the largest languages. All may well be extinct during this century if current trends continue.

Official figures for ethnic group populations are extremely accurate, but they may not accurately reflect speaker numbers because communities receive special benefits if they report that the local language is still spoken. One group, the Taroko or Seediq, has recently officially separated from another, the Atayal, and its speakers claim that they do not understand Atayal. Taroko is a new name for Seediq, derived from the name of a major tourist attraction in the area where Seediq is spoken.[3]

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[3] *I am grateful to Paul Li, Henry Chang, Elisabeth Zeitoun, Victoria Rau, Rik de Busser and Pan Chia-jung for information about these languages, but I am solely responsible for any errors in interpreting their input.*

Greater Pacific area

Darrell T. Tryon

The Greater Pacific area comprises Japan, Taiwan (China), the Philippines, insular Malaysia, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji, Micronesia, Polynesia, Australia and New Zealand, as well as Hawaii. Over 2,000 living languages, about a third of all those in the world, are located in this area. At the same time, the Greater Pacific has, until recently, been the area least affected by language endangerment, with the exception of Australia, New Caledonia and Taiwan. However, this situation has deteriorated over the last three decades, although it is still better than in most other parts of the world. In general, the total number of threatened languages in the Greater Pacific area excluding Australia is over 300, and about 50 have recently become extinct (details for the various regions are given below).

Language overview

The indigenous languages of the Greater Pacific area belong almost exclusively to three quite different groups. The largest category is the group of approximately 1,200 Austronesian languages that extend from Taiwan, across the Philippines, insular Malaysia, most of Indonesia, many coastal areas of Papua New Guinea, most of the Solomon Islands and all of Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, Micronesia and Polynesia. These languages are all interrelated and form the largest language family in the world. They are subdivided into nine higher-order subgroups in Taiwan, and one huge group, called Malayo-Polynesian, that occupies all the other Austronesian language areas.

The second largest group, comprising more than 750 languages, is the so-called family of Papuan languages, which occupy most of Irian Jaya (West Papua), Papua New Guinea, Timor Leste, the northern part of the Halmahera Islands, some parts of West Timor and some large islands to the west of Timor. There are also a few Papuan languages in the Solomon Islands. The Papuan languages do not form a single group of interrelated languages, but there is one very large group of nearly 500 related languages, the Trans New Guinea family, which occupies much of the island of New Guinea and the Timor area; other major but separate groups of Papuan languages are located in north-east Papua New Guinea, in the northern three-quarters of the Bird's Head peninsula of Irian Jaya and in northern Halmahera; another group is situated in eastern non-peninsular Irian Jaya. The remaining putative Papuan languages belong to a number of small, unrelated groups.

The third group includes the interrelated Australian Aboriginal languages, which belong to a single very large Australian family. The major subgroup, Pama-Nyungan, occupies seven-eighths of Australia, with about twenty small related families in Arnhem Land (the northern Australian peninsula area) and in areas to the south-east of it. The long-extinct languages of Tasmania may or may not be related to Australian languages; the evidence is inconclusive.

Language endangerment

Language endangerment in the Greater Pacific area is a very real concern in the face of globalization and rapidly increasing access to the electronic media. Because of this, the major world languages, especially English, are having a huge impact on indigenous languages. The situation in the Pacific has become more serious in the past few decades because of a marked increase in urbanization, with the consequence that speakers of a multiplicity of different languages come to live together, favouring the use of major world languages and pidgins. Even some of the larger languages, for example, Drehu in New Caledonia, are becoming severely endangered, at least for the younger generations who have moved away from their home island in search of a better economic future. In fact, in most of the Greater Pacific it is not so much the number of speakers of a language that determines language endangerment, but rather the move away from one's home area to an urban centre. Of course, in the South Pacific the phenomenon of diaspora is also having a major impact, as more than half of all Polynesians live and work away from their home islands in neighbouring countries where they now reside more or less permanently. However, this diaspora is by no means limited to the South Pacific.

Language policies and revitalization

There have been significant changes in language policies throughout the region in the past decade or two. In Taiwan, for example, where previously the minority indigenous Austronesian languages were severely threatened, today significant funding is allocated to their study and preservation, much of it brokered through the Academia Sinica in Taipei. In Indonesia the National Language Centre (Pusat Bahasa), whose main role has been to promote and develop the national language, Indonesian, has also been a major force for the study and preservation of many local vernaculars.

In the South Pacific, there have been major developments too, with the creation of language academies in French Polynesia and New Caledonia, and national cultural councils in most Pacific Island states. In Vanuatu and now in New Caledonia, national networks of indigenous language researchers have been set up, at the Vanuatu Cultural Centre and the Centre Tjibaou respectively.

In New Zealand, where the Maori language has been on the decline for some time, successful remedial action is being taken in the form of 'language nests', focusing on pre-school and early primary-school education in Maori. In Australia, there has been remarkable progress in language preservation, documentation and in some cases revitalization of critically endangered languages. Government-funded language centres have been established all over the continent, from northern Western Australia to New South Wales.[1]

In much of the Greater Pacific area, then, there is today a strong awareness and appreciation of the cultural and linguistic wealth of the region, as Pacific people hold firmly to their identities in the face of globalization. At the same time, inexorably, the smaller languages lacking intergenerational transmission continue to be lost.

Languages in the Greater Pacific area

The Philippines

Of the more than 100 languages in the Philippines, all Austronesian, 13 are vulnerable or endangered.[2] There is great tolerance shown towards small languages in the Philippines, and there are no monolingual speakers of dominant European languages or other comparable aggressive monolingual speakers there today – hence there is little language endangerment from that quarter. The speakers of very large Philippine languages, such as Tagalog (10 million first-language and between 30 million and 40 million second-language speakers) are mostly monolingual, but usually bi- and multilingual speakers of small Philippine languages simply add the knowledge of Tagalog to their repertory of languages, without losing their own languages in the process.

Indonesia

There are large numbers of languages in Indonesia – well over 400 Austronesian and some 240 Papuan languages, bringing the total to over 600. More than a quarter of the indigenous languages of Indonesia may be considered vulnerable or endangered. The only language used for all official and public purposes, and the media, is Indonesian. There is no direct oppression of any other language, as has been practised by monolingual speakers of dominant languages in Australia and the Americas, but there is some discouragement of speakers of local languages in several parts of Indonesia. Because education is solely in Indonesian, children are conditioned to regard it as superior to their own mother tongues, and they use it at home and with other family members in preference to their own languages, which then become progressively endangered. It should be noted that parts of Indonesia, especially Kalimantan and Irian Jaya (Papua), are not well documented at present.

Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea has more than 750 local languages – the highest number in any area of comparable size in the world. Very few of them have tens of thousands of speakers, but a large number can be classified as small to very small, with a few hundred speakers or far fewer. Until three decades or so ago, Papua New Guinea was the area least affected by language endangerment in the world. Speakers were, and still are, fiercely proud of their languages, which they regard as the main symbol of their ethnic identity.

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[1] *For more on the situation in Australia, see the following chapter.*

[2] *See also the chapter on South-East Asia, southern China and Taiwan (China).*

There has been a great increase in mobility in the past thirty years, however, resulting in a steadily rising number of marriages between speakers of different languages. Moreover, many of these marriages involve languages outside the range of the country's widespread traditional multilingualism. In such cases, the family usually adopts the national language Tok Pisin, a contact language and lingua franca spoken by over 80 per cent of all Papua New Guineans as a language of wider intercommunication. It has a complex Austronesian-type grammar and many English-derived words. Children are beginning to learn it as their first language, starting the chain of potential endangerment.

Only some thirty major languages are used in education and by the media, thereby reducing the importance of many other languages in the eyes of the local people. Though the attitude of the government and the authorities towards all local languages is positive, the situation is difficult. Of the Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea, about thirty-five are vulnerable or definitely endangered and three extinct, while among the Papuan languages spoken in Papua New Guinea, more than forty may be considered vulnerable or definitely endangered, and thirteen have become extinct in recent times.

The Solomon Islands

In the Solomon Islands, where there are more than sixty indigenous languages, all Austronesian except for four Papuan languages, the government and senior leaders are largely members of an English-educated elite. English is very much the prestige language and language of education, whereas the English-lexifier Solomon Pijin, the alternative national lingua franca, is regarded as somehow inferior. Major languages adopted as church languages, such as Roviana, Kwara'ae, Ghari and Nggela, have remained strong. At the same time, and in the absence of much government encouragement, the local vernaculars have remained relatively safe, as there is only one major urban centre, Honiara, the capital.

As communication between the islands is relatively undeveloped, Solomon Islanders still speak their own mother tongues, and generally the language or languages of their neighbours. It is not uncommon for speakers to use more than one local language, plus Pijin and/or English in a single conversation, depending on the circumstances. Naturally, Solomon Pijin affects the local languages, but not more than in the neighbouring states. Of the Austronesian languages in the Solomon Islands, more than ten may be considered endangered and three critically endangered.

Vanuatu

Many years of Anglo-French condominium status as the New Hebrides did little to help preserve the more than 100 languages of Vanuatu, and since independence in 1980 the English-based lingua franca Bislama, which is similar to the Tok Pisin of Papua New Guinea, and Solomon Pijin, has brought increasing pressure to bear on them. All the languages of Vanuatu are Austronesian. More than thirty are vulnerable or endangered and three have recently become extinct. Since independence, however, the Vanuatu Cultural Centre has established a nationwide network of Melanesian researchers who work energetically throughout the country to promote, document and preserve local languages and cultures. This work, under the aegis of the Vanuatu National Cultural Council, has ensured that many small languages are still relatively safe. At the same time, expatriate linguistic researchers work closely with the Vanuatu Cultural Centre to record and document critically endangered languages.

New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands

In New Caledonia, French, as a dominant world language spoken by monolinguals, has had a strong impact on local languages. Of the 60,000 indigenous people, today only some 30,000 still have an active command of one or more local languages. Since the strong awakening of Kanak ethnic identity among the local population some three decades ago, however, the language situation has been improving, especially since the signing of the Noumea Accord (1998) and the establishment of the Tjibaou Centre.

Since that time, four New Caledonian indigenous languages have been taught at the University of New Caledonia, and Kanak languages are offered, to a limited degree, at primary and secondary level. In recent years a network of Melanesian researchers has been set up, as in Vanuatu, along with the establishment of a Kanak language academy. Of the twenty-eight Austronesian languages spoken there, some thirteen are considered threatened or definitely endangered and two have recently become extinct.

Fiji and Rotuma

There are three Austronesian languages spoken here, all fully functional.

Micronesia

Of the languages spoken in Micronesia, all Austronesian, three are vulnerable or endangered and one is extinct. In Micronesia, English has had a significant impact on local languages, to the extent that even major languages such as Chamorro, spoken on Guam and neighbouring islands, are considered vulnerable.

Polynesia

Of the Polynesian languages, Hawaiian on the Hawaiian islands and Rapanui on Easter Island almost became extinct some time ago. New Zealand Maori, in spite of having large numbers of speakers, was also definitely endangered, in the face of English. All three languages have now been revitalized and are currently functioning quite well. However, their long-term future remains uncertain. The Tahitian language in the Society Islands had been receding before French, especially in the town of Papeete, the capital of French Polynesia, but has recovered strongly during the last two decades, and is now in turn threatening other neighbouring Polynesian languages (especially Tuamotuan), as well as the two languages of the Austral Islands, and is beginning to put pressure on Marquesan. There is now a Tahitian and a Marquesan language academy, and both of these languages have a place in the school curriculum, where French is the major language of instruction.

Australia

Michael Walsh

In describing the indigenous language situation in Australia for the third edition of this Atlas, one can observe significant differences from the previous two editions. In 1996, when the first edition appeared, global interest in endangered languages was just emerging and the appearance of the Atlas may well have contributed to the increased activity reported in the second edition of 2001. For Australia, one major report on the indigenous language situation was still being prepared and another was to appear a few years later (as mentioned in the section below), resulting in a more precise picture. At the same time, major efforts had been taking place in language revitalization to the extent that the situation now seems a good deal more positive. By the time the fourth edition appears, one hopes that further efforts of this kind can be reported and that we will have a more precise account of the linguistic demography.

Some indeterminacy in Australian linguistic demography

It should first be emphasized that for Australia there are areas of uncertainty in pinpointing language locations and numbers of speakers. I have relied heavily on recent and relatively comprehensive reports like the *State of Indigenous Languages in Australia – 2011 (SOIL)* (McConvell and Thieberger, 2002) and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies' *National Indigenous Languages Survey (NILS)* (AIATSIS, 2005). These have drawn on extensive research and consultations through a wide network of contacts across Australia. Despite these best efforts some indeterminacy remains because, on the one hand, the precise location of a language may be the subject of ongoing dispute. As a result, one should take the locations of languages

I have provided in this Atlas as only approximate. On the other hand, determining numbers of speakers is beset by such problems as degree of proficiency, multiple linguistic affiliations and the quality of the national census.

In Australia the federal government compiles a census every five years. This material is readily available online from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS, 2006: www.abs.gov.au), but can be confusing. At first glance, the figures in Table 1 are encouraging.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF SPEAKERS OF AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES AT HOME

1996 census	2001 census	2006 census
48,193	50,978	55,699

Source: ABS, 2006.

This suggests an upward trend with a modest increase between 1996 and 2001, but a more significant increase of a little over 9 per cent between 2001 and 2006. However, these figures are based on 'location on census night', whereas there are other figures based on 'place of usual residence'. Following this latter rubric, the 2006 census gives a total of 51,995 – a much more modest increase. However, this figure is not quite what it seems.

The questions posed by the 2006 census are likely to produce misleading answers. Participants were given a choice between two possible answers when commenting on their language proficiency: 'Very well or well'; 'Not well or not at all'. If I was asked to comment about my proficiency in French, I would have to choose the latter: not well or not at all. But then how would one know that I am not prepared to assert that I speak French well or very well but that I *do* speak it to some extent?

The figures in Table 2 reflect the distinction: 'Speaks other languages and speaks English' in contrast to 'Speaks English only'.

TABLE 2. LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME BASED ON PLACE OF USUAL RESIDENCE (2006 CENSUS)

Very well or well	Not well or not at all	Proficiency in English not stated	Total
40,846	9,902	1,247	51,955

Source: ABS, 2006.

The 2001 census disaggregated the two categories, 'Not well' and 'Not at all' (see Table 3).

TABLE 3. LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME BASED ON LOCATION ON CENSUS NIGHT (2001 CENSUS)

Very well or well	Not well	Not at all	Not stated	Total
36,215	9,549	2,659	1,341	49,764

Source: ABS, 2001.

Not surprisingly, the Australian Bureau of Statistics has been lobbied for some years by the Australian Linguistic Society and other professional organizations to change the categories – but to little effect. Suffice it to say that the ABS figures should be regarded as indicative rather than definitive. Within a particular state or territory, apparent upward or downward trends must be treated with caution. For example, the figures in Table 4 show the language spoken at home on census night in the Northern Territory (NT).

TABLE 4. LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME BASED ON LOCATION ON CENSUS NIGHT (Northern Territory)

1996 census	2001 census	2006 census
28,464	31,271	29,244

Source: ABS, 2006.

The apparent rise in 2001 and fall in 2006 may simply be a result of speakers under- or over-reporting their proficiency. In a survey of New South Wales (NSW) languages undertaken in 1999 and 2000 (Hosking et al., 2000), it was not uncommon for an Aboriginal person to declare that the language was 'finished' but then burst into an apparently fluent conversation with another Aboriginal person who had walked into the room. This is an example of under-reporting. On the other hand, there have been times when I have used my minimal knowledge of an Aboriginal language only to hear myself being described not long afterwards in these terms: 'He speaks the language right through.'

It is only in rare instances that we have fine-grained linguistic demography based on sustained long-term research. For the Yan-nhangu language of eastern Arnhem Land, James (2009, p. 91) provides these details:

> *There are approximately 150 Dhuwa heritage owners (those with patrilineal ancestral connections to Yan-nhangu language, land, sea and mardayin, sacred paraphernalia), and a further 150 Yirritja Burarra-Yan-nhangu (Walamangu Gamal, Gidjingali) people with language ownership rights.*

TABLE 5. YAN-NHANGU GROUPS

Group	Patri-moiety	Linguistic affiliation	Full speakers	Partial speakers	Total
Walamangu Gamal	Yirrchinga	Burarra/Yan-nhangu	27	89	116
Ngurruwula	Yirritja	Yan-nhangu	2	4	6
Bindararr	Yirrchinga	Burarra/Yan-nhangu	5	10	15
Gurryindi	Dhuwa	Yan-nhangu	8	30	38
Maḻarra	Dhuwa	Yan-nhangu	10	36	46
Gamalangga	Dhuwa	Yan-nhangu	9	35	44

Table 5 provides information on the Yan-nhangu groups, their moiety and the number of people speaking Yan-nhangu fully and partially. The term 'moiety' essentially refers to two basic subdivisions within a group while 'patri-moiety' emphasizes father–child sets.

These results are in sharp contrast to the seven speakers in the *NILS* Report, estimated with a high level of reliability. This is not to denigrate the *NILS* Report's findings, because clearly the level of detail provided by James (2009) is not, and mostly cannot be, replicated across indigenous Australia. It also raises questions about what factors should be included in a finer-grained linguistic demography. Issues such as 'language ownership' have particular resonance in Aboriginal Australia. People may describe themselves as owning a particular language and enjoy widespread community agreement with that ascription even though their language proficiency is virtually nil (see also Walsh, 2002). This is just one other factor that muddies the waters when census data are being recorded.

We conclude this section with a consideration of the labels used to describe language endangerment. Krauss (2007, pp. 7–10) ponders which languages can be regarded as 'safe' and decides that one requirement involves safety in numbers: a minimum of 100,000 speakers. None of Australia's indigenous languages come close to meeting this requirement. The closest would be the English-based creole, often referred to as Kriol, with some 20,000 speakers. In these terms, even those Aboriginal languages learned by children as a matter of course as part of their normal upbringing and maintained throughout their lives should be considered vulnerable. Accordingly, I have labelled languages of this kind, like Arrernte or Warlpiri, as vulnerable. Krauss has an additional requirement that creates another major obstacle for Australian languages: 'safe' languages 'would be those that enjoy recognition and support as national languages of nation-states or at least as regional languages thereof' (2007, p. 8). While, regrettably, no Australian languages enjoy such a status, this leads us to the issue of language policy.

Language policy

An admirable overview of Australian language policy can be found in McKay (2007), who summarizes the situation with particular regard to Australian indigenous languages as follows:

> *It seems clear that planning in relation to the Aboriginal language habitat has been sporadic and to a considerable degree uncoordinated beyond local or state based arenas and from program to program, and much of what has been achieved has depended on the innovation and commitment of individuals and specific organizations. (p. 103)*

After some years of deliberation, an official launch took place on 30 July 2004 of the New South Wales Aboriginal Languages Policy (NSW, 2003). This was the first state-wide policy for Aboriginal languages adopted in Australia. Discussions are under way in Victoria to develop a similar approach. The situation in other states and territories remains piecemeal although there has been some work in the Northern Territory towards an NT Indigenous Languages and Culture Policy. Even when an official policy has been launched, it is not clear that the specifics of the policy will be implemented. Of course one impediment to implementation is cost, so it is timely that we have a thought-provoking essay on the economic costs and benefits of Australian indigenous languages (Mühlhäusler and Damania, 2004).

Emergent languages

The discourse of language endangerment is full of terms like death, decline and extinction. Languages are described as critically endangered; the global situation is pictured in terms of decline, loss, tragedy. In contrast to received wisdom there are Aboriginal languages, especially in the south-east of Australia, that might be described as 'emergent'. Despite many years of decline, recent initiatives mean that the languages are much more in use now than they were when the first edition of this Atlas was published in 1996 and have even progressed since the second edition appeared five years later. In what follows, I will mainly focus on just two states, South Australia and New South Wales, not because there is no activity in other areas, but for reasons of brevity and because these are two of the states that were virtually blank in earlier editions of the Atlas. First, however, a few comments are necessary on three other regions.

Queensland, the Northern Territory and Western Australia

The situation is mixed in these regions: there are some pockets of 'strong' languages, some areas where the languages are not in common use and some instances of language revitalization. In Queensland, for instance, Gugu Badhun, a language described as extinct in earlier surveys, is undergoing some revitalization (Souter, 2004). However, such efforts have not received much support in this state, so that many languages are no better off now than they were ten years ago.

At the official level, the Northern Territory has recognized its substantial indigenous population in a report on indigenous languages and culture in Northern Territory schools (NT, 2005) and other initiatives. School-based initiatives are underpinned by the Indigenous Languages and Culture component of the Northern Territory Curriculum Framework, which has separate approaches for language maintenance and language revitalization.

It is particularly difficult to make generalizations about the state of Western Australia, partly because of its sheer size: it is larger than western Europe and nearly four times the size of Texas! Suffice it to say that some languages are continuing to decline while others are being brought back with varying degrees of success.

South Australia

Much of the state of South Australia is arid, so the bulk of the population resides in the south-eastern corner and, not surprisingly, the languages of this region bore the brunt of early and sustained contact from outsiders. The healthier languages like Pitjantjatjara and Yankuntjatjara had their traditional territories in the remote north-western corner.

The Department of Education and Children's Services (DECS) of South Australia has supported a range of language revitalization efforts across the state, including Arabana. For this language, the *NILS* Report's estimate of the number of speakers is six. In a reference grammar, Hercus (1994) described the language based on information provided by the last remaining speakers. A linguist and trained teacher, Greg Wilson, has worked with Hercus in recent years to produce a massive pedagogical resource (over 500 pages) to support school-based language learning from Reception (kindergarten) to Year 10 (Wilson and Hercus, 2004). This has been followed up by an electronic resource that includes audio clips of all the Arabana written examples included in the text. Thus we have steps towards a solution to the problem of learning to speak a language when the speech community is virtually non-existent.

A similar project has been carried out for Adnymathanha (Tunstill, 2004) and another is in progress for Diyari. Across the state – by 2006 – some nine languages were being taught in fifty-three sites. This includes some 'strong' languages like Pitjantjatjara and Yankuntjatjara but also languages that had fallen to a very low ebb like Adnymathanha, Arabana, Gugada, Ngarrindjeri and Wirangu as well as Kaurna.

Kaurna, the language of the Adelaide Plains, is noteworthy because it is a prime example of what can be achieved with the right confluence of circumstances: a substantial documentary base, strong community involvement and sustained input from a suitable linguist. Even by the most generous estimates, it would usually have been regarded as extinct by 1950. But now it is taught at all levels of education: right through school, university and adult education. Even ten years ago, over a hundred public speeches were being delivered in Kaurna each year (Amery, 2000; see also Amery, 2002).

New South Wales

New South Wales (NSW) was the first state to be settled and until recently most of its languages were seen as extinct or at best severely endangered. By 2008 eleven Aboriginal languages were being taught in around sixty schools across the state. Typically, the majority of students are of Aboriginal descent and many of these courses are pitched to the earlier years of schooling. However, in recent years some students have taken their indigenous language studies right through to the final years of school. At present the New South Wales Board of Studies supports an Aboriginal Languages K-10 Syllabus (NSW, 2003) and discussions are under way to introduce an additional syllabus to accommodate the final two years of school.

One important reason for the success of some of the language revitalization efforts in NSW is the emergence of community-based language centres. These foster and coordinate such activities as producing crucial documentation and providing relevant training for Aboriginal people. Particularly noteworthy here is the Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-operative (http://www.muurrbay.org.au/), which began to promote the Gumbaynggirr language in 1986. The Many Rivers Aboriginal Languages Centre (http://www.muurrbay.org.au/mralc.html) has operated under its auspices since 2004. This organization serves languages running in a coastal strip from the Queensland border down to a little north of Sydney. In a short time it has produced comprehensive reference grammars and dictionaries for most of these languages as well as a significant range of pedagogical materials. Interestingly, most of these languages would have been described as critically endangered or extinct in earlier surveys.

Such 'emergent languages' pose a challenge to the standard approach to grading degrees of language endangerment. In situations of language decline, the most fluent speakers will usually be the oldest and thus endangerment is graded. If we focus specifically on Gumbaynggirr, by now there must be hundreds of people who have had some significant exposure to the language over the last twenty years. Each year additional cohorts of semi-speakers are being created – for instance, through a series of summer schools called Ngaawa-Garay Girambang Ngiyabalgarra and offered at Beginners level as well as Advanced: 'These are intensive courses aiming to develop speaking skills in the languages, and will be quite demanding,' the organization's website announces (http://www.muurrbay.org.au/abor_lang_summer_school_2009.html).

How then should Gumbaynggirr be graded? It is clearly not extinct because it is not true that 'There is no one who can speak or remember the language.' Nor is it true that it is critically endangered because the youngest speakers are young children rather than being in the great-grandparental generation. Nor can it be severely endangered. Can it be definitely endangered? Perhaps not – because I doubt that the language is 'being learned as the mother tongue by children in the home'. However, I am told that when parents speak Gumbaynggirr to their children, the children typically respond in the language. With some reluctance, I have designated Gumbaynggirr as critically endangered, though none of the gradings of endangerment quite captures the situation on the ground for this and quite a few other Australian languages.

The role of the media in language maintenance

An important vehicle for language maintenance is the use of the media, including radio and television. Apart from the electronic aids mentioned above in connection with Arabana that involve audio clips of language examples, there is an over-reliance on print material for language maintenance. This is not such a problem when one is immersed in a vibrant speech community, but it is less effective for gaining adequate speaking and listening skills in situations of language revitalization. One of the more spectacular examples of the use of the media in language maintenance can be found in central Australia. From 1987 the Nganampa Anwernekenhe series has produced nearly 200 half-hour episodes for TV, introduced on its website as follows:

> *The primary aim of Nganampa Anwernekenhe is the maintenance of Aboriginal languages and culture. Nganampa Anwernekenhe is broadcast in Aboriginal languages, and is the only Aboriginal language program produced by and broadcast to Aboriginal people. The series showcases the diversity of life in Central Australia, and is subtitled so it is accessible to people who do not speak the indigenous languages used in each program.*

Their policy is set out on the same website (http://caama.com.au/category/productions/nganampa-anwernekenhe/). This initiative comes under the umbrella of the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (http://caama.com.au/), which became an independent Aboriginal organization in 1980 and sees Aboriginal language maintenance as a key part of its brief. To that end, it began radio broadcasting in a range of Centralian languages, including Arrernte, Pintupi and Warlpiri. The content of such broadcasts is not restricted to immediate local concerns but also includes national and sometimes international news delivered in these languages.

Conclusion

As in other regions of the world, many of Australia's indigenous languages are in danger of disappearing. However, efforts over the last two decades – particularly with regard to highly endangered languages in the south-east of the country – have begun to stem this tide. Languages that were thought to have disappeared or were in serious danger of disappearing are now reappearing. As mentioned above, this presents challenges for how we assess language endangerment. On the basis of numerical strength and the extent of official recognition, we can confidently say that none of Australia's indigenous languages are safe. But it is less clear how the other terms should be applied: 'normal' language decline has been interrupted by language revitalization so that a significant number of languages now have partial speakers at all ages, and the youngest are sometimes the more fluent speakers.

South America

Willem Adelaar

South America (with the inclusion of the Caribbean islands) is a textbook example of an area that combines unusual linguistic diversity (118 families according to Kaufman, 1990) with an extraordinarily high extinction rate. Violent conquest, epidemics, occasional massive destruction and socio-economic stratification in which indigenous groups were traditionally confined to the lowest strata of society have combined to erase much of the subcontinent's original rich linguistic diversity.

More than 400 indigenous languages survive in South America (none in the Caribbean islands), but they are unevenly distributed geographically. Large parts of South America (the central Colombian highlands and valleys, central Venezuela, eastern Brazil, northern Peru, Tierra del Fuego and most of Argentina) have lost almost all their indigenous languages, mostly without previous documentation of any significant kind. Furthermore, the situation of the surviving languages is alarming. Many of them have extremely low speaker numbers (for example, almost all the 150 languages of Brazil). Languages that do have significant speaker numbers (Quechua, Aymara, Mapuche, etc.) are often plagued by the low motivation of speech communities in handing them on to younger generations of speakers. The resulting massive language shift to a dominant European language (Spanish, Portuguese) is difficult to counter and is an even greater threat to language survival than mere small speaker numbers. In spite of occasional official recognition and protective government measures, all the indigenous languages of South America are unstable and thus vulnerable.

On the positive side, research on the indigenous languages of South America has expanded spectacularly during the last twenty years, methods to stimulate language maintenance and language revival have been developed, and the interest of indigenous groups in their languages and programmes geared at preserving and revitalizing them has been awakened. At the same time, national governments are increasingly inclined to recognize and protect the existence of indigenous groups and their languages. In this context, Brazil, where more than ten universities and institutions contribute actively to the study and preservation of languages, has come to occupy a leading position in the region. Private funding programmes, such as the Documentation of Endangered Languages (DoBeS) of the Volkswagen Foundation in Germany, and the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP) at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, have contributed greatly to the study and documentation of South American languages. In 2007 DoBeS installed servers for the systematic storage of (indigenous) language data in Argentina, Brazil and Peru.

In the meantime, many South American languages have been lost beyond retrieval. Some of them have recently become extinct, others have only one or two speakers left (Tinigua, Uru, Yahgan, etc.). Due to the rapidity of the extinction process, 'discoveries' of lost languages are not unusual. One of the most striking cases is the identification in Entre Ríos, Argentina, of a speaker of Chaná, a language that was supposed to have been extinct since the middle of the nineteenth century.

Colombia

Demography

In 2005 a general population census was carried out in Colombia that, apart from questions about numbers, families, residence, economic units and farming units, included a module on 'ethnic membership'. According to this census, the population of Colombia was distributed as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. 'ETHNIC MEMBERSHIP' OF COLOMBIA'S POPULATION (2005 CENSUS)

	Total numbers	Percentage
National population	41,468,384	100.00
Indigenous population (national)	1,392,623	3.43
Afro-Colombian population	4,311,757	10.62
Roma (Gypsy) population	4,858	0.01

Source: DANE, 2007, p. 34.

Colombia, within its minority indigenous population, presents one of the most diverse linguistic patterns in all of Latin America. Not only does it have representatives of the Arawakan, Barbacoan, Chibchan, Cariban, Chocoan, Tupian, Saliba-Piaroan, Quechuan, Guahiban, Makuan and Witotoan families, many of which extend beyond its borders, but it is also the centre of the widespread Tucanoan language family. In addition, there are seven presumed language isolates in Colombia: Camsá, Páez, Timigua, Andoke, Ticuna, Cofán and Yaruro.

The country may be fairly described as belonging to both highland and lowland South America, as its indigenous languages are distributed in three broad regions: the lowland coastal area, the Andean region[1] and the Amazon region bordering Brazil and Venezuela.

Since the arrival of the Spanish in the sixteenth century the indigenous population of Colombia has been in steady retreat, first from the conquistadors and most recently from economic exploiters of the vast natural local resources. In recent times their settlements have largely been confined to the coastal area, and inland to the banks of rivers such as the Putumayo, Caquetá, Orinoco, Guaviare, Meta, Vaupés and Apaporis. Many indigenous people, such as the speakers of declining Chibchan languages inland, have sought to avoid contact with intruders; others have declined in numbers through assimilation.

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[1] *For more on the Andean region, see the following chapter.*

In recent years, several autonomous indigenous organizations have arisen to defend the ethnic identities, lands and traditions of Colombian minorities. The Organización Regional Indígena Emberá Wounaan (OREWA, Wounaan Emberá Regional Indigenous Organization), for example, was established with the support of various indigenous bodies that had already been set up, such as the Consejo Regional Indígena de Cauca (CRIC, Cauca Regional Indigenous Council) and sections of civil society. So far, OREWA has extended its organizational activities to almost 200 indigenous Chocan communities.

Groups such as the Emberá on the north coast have in recent years reclaimed their organizational autonomy, as a consequence of which they are seeking to keep education, at least at the primary level, in their own hands, and have developed school materials and published grammars.

Government indigenous policies

(*With the editorial assistance of Tulio Rojas Curieux*)

According to the 1991 Constitution, the state recognizes and protects the ethnic and cultural diversity of the nation; Spanish is the official language of Colombia, but the languages and dialects of ethnic groups are official on their territories. Teaching provided in communities with their own linguistic traditions is to be bilingual. The form of the territorial entities is subject to the stipulations of the Law on Territorial Regulation and its delimitation by the national government with the participation of representatives of indigenous communities. The reserves are collective property and inalienable.

In Colombia the indigenous education programme, supported by indigenous organizations, has over the past three decades sought to reclaim the land and residential rights of the indigenous peoples of the country.

In spite of enlightened legislation and a pro-indigenous policy, Colombian indigenous groups have suffered severe losses due to the situation of internal war that has prevailed in their country over the last few years. The situation will certainly have consequences for the survival of their languages, although an exact assessment is not possible at present.

Brazil

In Brazil, the largest country in South America, language extinction has been an ongoing process over the last five centuries. This is due to a dramatic reduction of the indigenous population as a result of war, epidemics and assimilation. In north-east Brazil, once an area of considerable linguistic diversity, only one language has been preserved (Yatê). In that area, the last speakers of the Kariri language family disappeared at the beginning of the twentieth century. Most of the languages still spoken are now found in the western part of the country, mainly in the area called Amazônia Legal. According to Moore, Vilacy Galucio and Gabas (2008), the actual number of indigenous languages spoken in Brazil may be a quarter of what it was in 1500.

The total number of indigenous languages actually spoken in Brazil is estimated at 180, but Moore et al. (2008) observe that some of the Brazilian languages generally listed as separate may be closely related varieties of one another, so that the true number of independent languages may oscillate around 150, rather than 180. (Of these 150 languages, at least one fifth are said to be severely or critically endangered.) This also means that the actual loss of diversity could be much greater than suggested by the number of languages surviving today, because some of the differences within present-day language groups may be the result of relatively recent changes.

Brazil is conspicuous for having many languages with extremely low speaker numbers. Some with only one or two speakers (e.g. the Tupi languages Apiaká, Guarasú and Xipaya, the Arawakan languages Kaixana and Yawalapiti, the isolate Máku, etc.) are probably beyond all possibility of recovery. On the other hand, the phenomenon of emerging ethnic groups (*identidades emergentes*) that has become significant in different parts of the country holds the promise that some reportedly extinct languages may still be rediscovered. The Brazilian indigenous language with the largest number of speakers is Ticuna, with over 30,000 speakers in the border area with Colombia and Peru.

Brazilian indigenous languages belong to several stocks of languages that are subdivided into remotely related language families or one-language branches: Macro-Jê, Tupí, Cariban, Panoan, Tucanoan, Arawá, Katukinan, Makú, Nambikwaran, Chapacuran, Yanomami, Mura-Pirahã and Guaicurúan. Nambikwaran, Mura-Pirahã, as well as most branches of Macro-Jê and Tupí, are exclusive to Brazil, but the other families extend into neighbouring countries. Boran and Zamucoan are only marginally represented in Brazil. Isolates or unclassified languages are relatively few in number: Aikaná, Iranxe-Mynky, Kanoê, Kwazá, Máku, Trumái and Ticuna. All but Ticuna are exclusive to Brazil.

Over the last two decades, great scientific progress has been made in the study of the indigenous languages of Brazil, an area in which both Brazilian and foreign academic institutions cooperate. Grammatical descriptions as well as extensive and thoroughly archived data collections are becoming available at a rapid pace. Nevertheless, the sheer number of languages as well as their critical situation make it necessary to keep up these efforts.

Of the indigenous languages of Brazil, 13 per cent have a reasonably complete description, 38 per cent have an advanced description, 29 per cent have some scientific description and 19 per cent have insignificant scientific description.[2] In recent years, concern for language endangerment and language documentation has increased greatly in Brazil. Nineteen languages have been documented by the major international programmes (DoBeS, ELDP and the National Science Foundation [NSF]) and more documentation has been supported by UNESCO, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Brazilian agencies.

Several ground-breaking government initiatives are noteworthy. The Workgroup for Linguistic Diversity of Brazil's Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (IPHAN, Institute of the National Historic and Artistic Patrimony) is planning a field survey of the current situation of all the country's languages. The methodology for this field survey is being devised and tested. Brazil's Fundação Nacional do Índio (FUNAI, National Indian Foundation) has acquired significant funding (approx. US$2 million) for a programme of active documentation of indigenous languages and storage of the recordings. Two Brazilian institutions, the Museu do Índio and the Museu Goeldi, now have servers with digital language archives.

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[2] *Data from Denny Moore and Bruna Franchetto.*

Concern for language maintenance is widespread among native Brazilian groups and documentation is highly popular. The Brazilian national census of 2010 will include a question to ascertain which language the respondent habitually uses at home. These measures indicate a progressive attitude in the country that justifies a certain optimism, in spite of the large number of endangered languages that need attention.

Brazil's progressive legislation and state organizations such as FUNAI encourage indigenous groups to preserve their identity and their languages. Digitized archives of language data are applied to this effect, with occasional success. The link between ethnolinguistic identity and the recognition of indigenous land rights can have a motivating effect. In spite of the critical situation of most of the Brazilian indigenous languages, moderate optimism is justified.

Venezuela

Venezuela has about thirty surviving indigenous languages, including some vital ones such as the language of the Guajiro (Wayuu), one of the fastest-growing indigenous ethnolinguistic groups in South America. These languages are mainly located in the southern part of the country (Amazonas, Apure, Bolívar), at its western borders and in the eastern area (Amacuro delta). In the central part of the country and the Andean highlands of western Venezuela, no indigenous languages are left. Among the lost languages are two families of the Venezuelan Andes and their Caribbean foothills, Timote-Cuica and Jirajaran, which became extinct in the first half of the twentieth century. (The *Ethnologue* mentions the existence of an unidentified language in the Timote-Cuica area, which has never been confirmed.)

Most of Venezuela's indigenous languages, including several historically important extinct ones, belong to the Cariban and Arawakan language families. Other important language groups are Salivan and Yanomami. Both language families extend into neighbouring countries. The isolates Warao and Yaruro are mainly found in Venezuela, although there are some speakers in neighbouring countries. Additional linguistic isolates are Hodi, Awaké/Uruak and Sape/Kaliana.

Languages of the Chibchan, Guahiboan Maku-Puinave and Tukanoan families are found in the border regions. The Tupi-Guaraní lingua franca Yeral/Nheengatu (from Portuguese *língua geral*) has also reached Venezuelan territory.

Several languages in Venezuela are close to extinction, for instance, Mapoyo (Cariban) and the elusive Awaké and Kaliana. The Arawakan language Yavitero became extinct in the twentieth century due to the near-extermination of the group.

According to the 1999 Venezuelan Constitution, the official national language is Spanish (Castilian) while the indigenous languages are of official use for the indigenous peoples. Nevertheless, these need to be respected throughout the nation. Accordingly, indigenous peoples have the right to demand bilingual intercultural education (BID-IIDH, 2003).

According to the Law of Indigenous Peoples and Communities (2005), the state is committed to developing language revitalization programmes and writing systems for each of the languages (Article 77). Official and legal documents are to be translated into the indigenous languages and their speakers can demand the right to an interpreter during legal hearings. Indigenous people also have the right of access to bilingual intercultural programmes, bilingual health programmes and bilingual means of social communication (Article 94).

The Law of Indigenous Languages (2008) not only recognizes and promotes such languages and their use at the local and national level but also applies to bilingual intercultural programmes.

The Guyanas (including Suriname)

The three Guyanas share the characteristic of a fairly acculturated indigenous population in the coastal region, mainly speakers of Lokono Arawak and Carib (Kariña, Galibi), and more traditional groups located in the interior of the country. The coastal languages are now severely endangered, although Carib has proven more resistant to language shift than Arawak. A small pocket of Warao-speakers (see the section on Venezuela above) remains in the northern coastal region of Guyana.

A phenomenon of ethnolinguistic merger can be observed among some of the indigenous communities of the interior. The Waiwai, a Cariban-speaking group in southern Guyana, were originally a mixed community, as were the Trio (also Cariban) in southern Suriname. Speakers of (Cariban) Tunayana, Sikïiyana and (Arawakan) Mawayana can be found among them. There are also Akuriyo, whose (Cariban) language is reported to be extinct. A few speakers of the historically important Taruma language, an isolate with Brazilian roots, live among the Arawakan-speaking Wapishana in south-west Guyana.[3]

Cariban-speaking groups in western Guyana are the Arekuna (Pemón), the Akawayo and the Patamona (also known as Kapón), and the Makushí. Speakers of Wayana live in the border region of Suriname and French Guyana. Three additional indigenous languages are spoken in French Guyana: (Arawakan) Palikur, (Tupi-Guaraní) Wayampí and Émérillon. In general, the indigenous languages of the Guyanas extend into the neighbouring countries, Brazil and Venezuela (or did so until recently). Émérillon and Taruma are exceptions.

Apart from the indigenous languages, several creole languages of mixed origin are spoken in the Guyanas. An interesting example in Guyana is Berbice Dutch creole, which contains elements of Dutch, Arawak and a West African language.

Indigenous groups of the Guyanas largely depend on non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and private institutions or programmes for the documentation, revitalization and research of their languages. In French Guiana, the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD, Research Institute for Development) plays a significant role.

Paraguay

Paraguay is the only Latin American country with an indigenous majority language, Paraguayan Guaraní. Used in the Jesuit missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Guaraní became closely linked with the Paraguayan cultural and national identity. It is a recognized official language along with Spanish. However, Guaraní is used by almost the entire Paraguayan population, whereas many people in the countryside have no knowledge of Spanish. Although Paraguayan Guaraní is not immediately endangered, its indigenous legacy is jeopardized in everyday speech by massive borrowing from Spanish at all levels (lexicon, syntax, idioms, etc.). The colloquial variety of Guaraní heavily influenced by Spanish is often referred to as Yopará.

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[3] *Information from E. B. Carlin.*

Most of Paraguay's Guaraní-speaking population is settled east between the Paraguay and Paraná rivers. In that area some traditional groups of Guaraní-speakers (Chiripá, Mbyá, Pai-Tavyterã) preserve their own conservative dialects of the language. The elusive Aché-Guayakí speak a language related to Guaraní, although they may be descendants of an older non-Guaraní population. They have been subjected to severe persecution in the past, and their survival as a group is uncertain.

The other indigenous linguistic minorities in Paraguay have their origin in the Gran Chaco area, west of the Paraguay River, although some of them have migrated to the economically more developed eastern section. These languages belong to different families: Lengua-Mascoi, Matacoan, Zamucoan, Guaicurúan and Tupi-Guaraní. Although there is no immediate danger of extinction, the languages of the Lengua-Mascoi family and the minor languages of the Tupi-Guaraní family are at the greatest risk.

Argentina

Indigenous groups and their languages have disappeared completely from most of the Argentine national territory, mainly due to a history of conflict between immigrants and native groups, including state-organized repression. Several entire language families or possible isolates disappeared at an early stage, including Diaguita, Huarpean, Comechingón, Sanavirón, Pehuenche and Charrúan, mostly without leaving any documentation of importance. Nevertheless, the recent discovery of a semi-speaker of Chaná, a Charrúan language supposed to have been extinct for more than 150 years, is proof of the surprises that a situation of relatively recent extinction can hold.

Speakers of indigenous languages are now concentrated mainly in the border regions and, as far as recent migrants are concerned, in Buenos Aires and other cities. Some Mapuche-speakers, descendants of the Araucanians who invaded from Chile in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and assimilated local groups such as the Ranquelche and the Gününa Küne, are settled in central and western areas of Argentina. Their language is in a process of abandonment.

Recently extinct languages are Gününa Yajich and Ona (belonging to the Chon family). The Ona or Selk'nam people of the main island of Tierra del Fuego became the victims of repression at the beginning of the twentieth century. Due to the physical disappearance of the group, the last Ona-speakers died in the 1980s. Gününa Yajich was the language of the Gününa Küne or Gennaken, the northernmost group of the Tehuelche complex in Patagonia. It existed until the 1960s. Except for the southernmost group located in southern Patagonia, most Tehuelche languages (Southern Tehuelche, Teushen, Gününa Yajich) were replaced by Mapuche and became extinct for that reason.

Vilela was spoken in the Bermejo River area in the eastern Gran Chaco. It is a member of the otherwise extinct Lule-Vilela family. The descendants of the last surviving Vilela group live in the eastern Chaco area, where they are mixed with the Toba. Documentation is being obtained from the last semi-speakers.

Languages of the Arawak (Chané) and Jê families (Kaingang) were reported as being spoken in Argentina in the past. They are no longer found there.

There is still a substantial number of speakers of the Matacoan and Guaicurúan language families in northern Argentina, with extensions into the Bolivian and Paraguayan Gran Chaco. However, once-numerous Guaicurúan groups such as the Abipón are now extinct.

In north-west and north-east Argentina there is a substantial presence of speakers of Tupi-Guaraní languages and Quechua. Quechua

(Quichua) is spoken by some 100,000 people in the province of Santiago del Estero, where it replaced the languages of local groups such as the Lule and the Tonocoté. Until recently, however, the extension of Quechua in north-west Argentina was much wider, including the provinces of Jujuy, Salta, Catamarca and La Rioja. The status of Quechua in these areas is largely unknown. Paraguayan Guaraní extends into Argentine territory, but the province of Corrientes has its own variety of Guaraní (Goyano). Other Tupi-Guaraní languages spoken in Argentina are Mbyá, Tapieté and Chiriguano (Avá-Guaraní, Guaraní boliviano). The number of speakers of Chiriguano is substantial. It should be noted that quite a few Quechua-speaking Bolivians and Guaraní-speaking Paraguayans have taken up residence in Argentina.

The total number of 600,000 indigenous people and descendants of indigenous people reported for Argentina (INDEC, 2005; Censabella, 1999) may not accurately reflect the number of speakers of indigenous languages.

The Argentine Constitution acknowledges the country's different ethnic and cultural indigenous peoples and guarantees that their identity will be respected as such. The National Law of Education (No. 26.206/06) states that indigenous people have the right to demand appropriate bilingual intercultural education programmes, while the state is committed not only to improving the infrastructure of educational centres, but also to facilitating permanent personnel training and developing appropriate teaching methodologies, research and practices that reflect the country's ethnic, social and cultural diversity.

Chile

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, the history of Chile was dominated by the struggle between the Spanish colonial power and the native Araucanian or Mapuche people, who still constitute the principal ethnolinguistic minority in the country. Nowadays, many Mapuche, especially those living in urban communities in Santiago and Concepción, have abandoned their ancestral language Mapudungun. The highest estimates for the number of Mapudungun-speakers oscillate around 400,000, but the actual figure may be much lower. Mapudungun survives in the provinces of Cautín and Malleco (La Araucanía region) and adjacent areas. In spite of many threats to their language, the Mapuche people are attached to it, and Mapudungun is now taught in rural schools.

All other languages in Chile are either highly endangered or extinct. The most vital languages are spoken by the Aymara in northern Chile and by the Polynesian population of Easter Island (Rapanui). The Huilliche language, which is closely related to Mapudungun, is still used in some locations on the island of Chiloé, as well as in the provinces of Osorno and Valdivia in southern Chile.

The Atacameño or Kunza language was spoken in the oases of the Atacama desert until 1900. There have been reports of its survival in remote locations until the 1950s. Several traditions, song texts and a certain fragmentary knowledge of the language and its pronunciation subsist until today. There is a desire for revitalization, although this now seems a forlorn hope.

In the island area south and west of Tierra del Fuego, two small linguistic isolates are nearing extinction: Kawesqar (or Alacaluf) and Yahgan.

In 1993, by Law No. 19253, Chile established a series of regulations regarding the protection and development of indigenous languages and cultures, mainly through the Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena (CONADI, National Corporation of Indigenous Development). Bilingual intercultural education is also to be promoted in regions populated by ancestral communities. The most important goal of the education measures is to give indigenous people the opportunity to deal adequately both with their local communities and with the global society.

Uruguay

The native groups of Uruguay, mainly speakers of Charrúan languages, were eliminated during a series of wars in the first half of the nineteenth century. Today, in the area of Montevideo, there are speakers of Mbyá (Tupi-Guaraní) who migrated from neighbouring countries.[4] The Guaraní population that used to live in Uruguay is now entirely assimilated.

Caribbean islands region

There are no indigenous languages left in the Caribbean islands that have survived the era of colonization. However, there is a community of Caribs (originally speakers of Island Carib, an Arawakan language) on the island of Dominica. The Island Carib-speaking population of neighbouring Saint Vincent was deported to Central America by the British in about 1797. Their descendants in Belize, Guatemala and Honduras continue to speak their language, Garífuna.

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[4] *Information from the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA), São Paulo.*

South America: Andean region

Marleen Haboud

For centuries, native Andean languages have been in general retreat throughout the Andes. The level of threat varies from language to language, and given the unreliability of the available data, it is impossible to know the exact situation in each instance. Nevertheless, the general tendency is one of accelerated loss as a result of a series of drastic changes resulting from the penetration of Westernized ways of life and culture (missionaries, tourism, transnational companies, etc.) into ancestral Andean communities. Internal social, political and economic conflicts have also affected the vitality of indigenous languages and peoples who have been forced to migrate.

Most Latin American countries have high rates of rural–urban internal migration. Seventy per cent of the Andean countries' populations now live in urban areas,[1] while rural areas lose between 1 per cent and 3 per cent of their population to urban migration every decade (King and Haboud, 2009). The exact number of the indigenous population in the Andean countries is not known, and official demographics usually underestimate their percentage of the total population in each country. The indigenous populations of Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. INDIGENOUS POPULATION: BOLIVIA, ECUADOR AND PERU

Country	Total population	Total indigenous population	Indigenous population as percentage of total	Year of census
Bolivia	8,090,732	5,358,107	66.2	2001
Ecuador	12,156,608	830,418	6.8	2001
Peru	25,939,329	3,968,717	15.3	2000

Source: Del Popolo and Oyarce, 2005.

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[1] *According to CEPAR: www.cepar.org.ec.*

Ecuador

Ecuador, one of the smallest countries in South America (272,045 sq. km), is well known for its geographical, cultural and linguistic diversity. In addition to Spanish, there are thirteen indigenous languages, all of them endangered. This is true even for languages with large numbers of speakers such as Quichua, which has around 1 million speakers in Ecuador and 8 million along the Andes. The indigenous languages of Ecuador are found in its three natural regions – the coast, the highlands (Sierra) and the Amazon basin – and represent most of the linguistic families found in South America.

In Ecuador, as in most Latin American countries, there is no general consensus about the number of speakers of indigenous languages or the number of indigenous people, and official demographic estimates differ by source. Table 2 illustrates such discrepancies, which probably result from the lack of precise data –collection methods and a rejection of the national census by indigenous people.

Ecuadorian Quichua

Quichua (Kichwa, Runashimi, Runa simi), which belongs to the Northern Quechua branch (Quechua II) (Torero, 1964), is spoken to a greater or lesser extent in the Andean countries of Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Chile and Argentina (see the summary below). In Ecuador, it is spoken in nine of the ten highland provinces and along the Amazon basin to the east of the Andean mountain range. Although the word Quichua is in general use in Ecuador, older speakers in the central and southern highlands still refer to their language as Inga. A similar denomination is used in Colombia.

Ecuadorian Quichua has two main varieties: highland Quichua and lowland (Amazonian) Quichua. Both implicitly and explicitly, Quichua has been recognized as the country's predominant indigenous language and it has a major influence on the other indigenous languages of the Amazonian region. Estimates of the size of the Ecuadorian Quichua population vary greatly, depending on the criteria for 'Indianness' and the methodological procedures used by researchers. The widely fluctuating estimates vary between 340,000 and 3 million speakers.

The linguistic and sociolinguistic situation of Quichua also varies greatly from region to region and is multilayered, shaped by long-standing contact with Spanish but also with other indigenous languages. However, Quichua plays an important public role in the country. It has proven to be an effective tool of empowerment with regard to the dominant society, and it is used strategically during national and local uprisings (see Haboud, 2005).

Coastal languages

The existing languages of the coastal region of Ecuador are Awap'it (Awa Coaiquer), Cha'palaa (Cha'palaache, Cayapa), Tsa'fiki and Sia Pedee (Epera Pedede). The first three belong to the Barbacoan language group, whereas Sia Pedee is a Chocoan language. Awap'it and Sia Pedee are transnational languages and their larger communities are located in Colombia. Given their situation of migration, these languages have suffered a drastic loss of speakers.

Amazonian languages

According to the last national census, 20.8 per cent (120,000) of the total population of the Amazonian region (576,748) are indigenous. The languages spoken here represent the major South American language

TABLE 2. ECUADOR: INDIGENOUS POPULATION OF THE AMAZON BASIN

Nationality	Language	SOURCES CODENPE[1] 2008	 CONAIE[2] 1990/2008	 *Ethnologue* 2000
COAST				
Awa	Awap'it	3,750	1,600	1,000
Chachi	Cha'palaa (Cayapa)	457 families	4,000	3,450
Epera	Sia Pedee	250	150	50
Tsachila	Tsa'fiki (Tsa'fiqui)	2,640	2,000	2,300
HIGHLANDS (SIERRA)				
Quichua	Quichua (Kichwa, Runa simi, Runashimi)	–	3,000,000	1,400,000
AMAZONIA				
A'i Cofan	A'ingae (Cofan)	728	800	800
Achuar	Achuar Chicham	830 families	500	2,000
Andoa	Shimigae (Andoa)	–	60	–
Quichua (Amazonia)	Quichua (Kichwa) Runa simi, Runa Shimi)	80,000	60,000	10,000
Secoya	Paicoca (Paikoka, Secoya)	400	1,000 (includes Siona)	290
Shiwiar	Shiwiar Chicham	–	700	–
Shuar	Shuar Chicham	110,000	40,000	46,669
Siona	Paicoca (Paikoka, Secoya)	360	–	250
Waorani	Waotededo (Waotiriro, Waodani, Huao Tiriro)	3,000	2,000	1,650 [2004]
Zápara	Zaparo (Sapara, Kayapi)	114	100–200	170

1. *CODENPE: Consejo de Desarrollo de las Nacionalidades y Pueblos del Ecuador (Council for the Development of the Nationalities and Peoples of Ecuador).*
2. *CONAIE: Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador).*

families: Western Tucanoan, Jivaroan, Quechuamaran and Zaparoan. Two languages, A'ingae and Waotededo, remain unclassified. All these languages are endangered at different levels by external conditions such as the presence of settlers from other regions, transnational companies, guerrillas, militarization, colonization and environmental degradation.

There are two Zaparoan languages, Zaparo and Andoa (Shimigae), both in a critical condition. Their nationalities are now native speakers of Quichua.

Safeguarding measures: towards language maintenance

National indigenous organizations in Latin America have raised awareness of indigenous peoples' presence in each country. Permanent mobilizations have driven their governments to accord official recognition to their languages and cultures. In Ecuador and throughout the Andean region, indigenous languages have become important symbols of persistence and resistance. The 2008 Ecuadorian Constitution (Article 2) recognizes Quechua and Shuar as official languages of intercultural relations. Over the last few decades, the government has prioritized several social policies that target the most vulnerable rural and urban groups. Nevertheless, most of the linguistic and cultural policies intended to preserve ancestral languages and cultures have not been adequately implemented.

All the Andean countries have national educational programmes (intercultural and bilingual) that aim to safeguard ancestral languages. However, the positive impact of formal education on language maintenance is still limited in Ecuador and the sole target of such programmes continues to be the indigenous population, not the country as a whole. At present, several local organizations are trying to move beyond the educational realm to the larger public sphere through national radio and television programmes, public announcements, street signs and every possible strategy that could help put into practice the official policies in favour of the indigenous languages and peoples of Ecuador.

Peru

Peru's latest national census (2007) failed to reflect the country's true ethnic and multicultural character, as the number of indigenous people was determined on linguistic rather than ethnic criteria (the language spoken by the head of the household or by his/her spouse – Spanish versus non-Spanish). The total population was put at 27,412,157, with the indigenous population at 4,045,713 (nearly 15 per cent), although traditional estimates consider that between between 25 per cent and 48 per cent of Peruvians are indigenous.

Most of Peru's indigenous people speak Quechua (83 per cent), another 11 per cent speak Aymara, 2 per cent Ashaninka and the remaining 4 per cent are speakers of other languages of the Amazonian region. The first two languages are also spoken in other neighbouring countries.

The indigenous languages of Peru represent twenty different linguistic families, and there are at least forty-four vital languages (forty in the Amazonian region, four in the highlands). Such vitality is, however, relative, as it refers to a continuum that includes monolingual, bilingual and even passive speakers who have lost the ability to use their native language as the principal means of communication.

According to Gustavo Solis, who provided invaluable guidance regarding the language situation in Peru (personal communication, December 2008), it is difficult to determine the exact number of indigenous languages spoken there. If we understand a living language as one that is at least known by any one speaker as a mental object (passive knowledge), and not necessarily as his/her main means of social communication, then such Amazonian languages as Resigaro, Munichi, Taushiro and Andoke are spoken only by isolated individuals living among speakers of other languages, and thus have no active speech community. It is not easy to determine whether some of the clan names used by speakers refer to actual languages or to language varieties. Furthermore, there are indigenous groups who still live in voluntary isolation in the Amazonian region, and it is practically impossible to obtain reliable information about them and their languages. For example, fourteen indigenous peoples are recorded as living in isolation throughout the Peruvian Amazonian region (Vinding, 2003).

All the Amerindian languages and peoples of Peru are threatened by a complex web of situations: their degree of social isolation, the social and economic benefits offered to speakers of indigenous languages, the processes of colonization, the degree of preservation of their territory and environment, social discrimination, internal cohesion within their ethnic group, poverty levels, and migratory flows to Spanish-speaking regions (especially to the capital, Lima). Chirinos (n.d.) considers that in the near future there will be many more bilinguals who learn Spanish at the expense of their native language.

It is important to stress that the vitality of some Amazonian languages is not directly related to the high number of speakers but to people's living conditions. In lowland Amazonia, some small groups have managed to preserve their ecosystem, which guarantees their sustainability as well as their cultural and linguistic continuity.

According to the Constitution of Peru (Articles 19, 48, 89), all the indigenous languages enjoy official status, but this has limited practical impact. It is, rather, the process of regionalization that seems to be more important in giving the minority languages greater opportunities for survival. This depends on the relative number of speakers per region and their opportunities for empowerment vis-à-vis the dominant society.

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE BY SELF-IDENTIFICATION (2001 CENSUS)

AREA	**ETHNIC IDENTITY**						
	Quechua	**Aymara**	**Chiquitano**	**Guaraní**	**Moxeño (Mojeño)**	**Other native languages**	**Total**
Urban	790,436	761,712	76,808	45,709	34,028	37,736	1,746,429 (55.6%)
Rural	765,205	516,169	35,410	35,488	12,308	31,628	1,396,208 (44.4%)
TOTAL	**1,555,641 (49.5%)**	**1,277,881 (40.6%)**	**112,218 (3.6%)**	**81,197 (2.6%)**	**46,336 (1.5%)**	**69,364 (2.2%)**	**3,142,637 (100%)**

Source: INE, 2001.

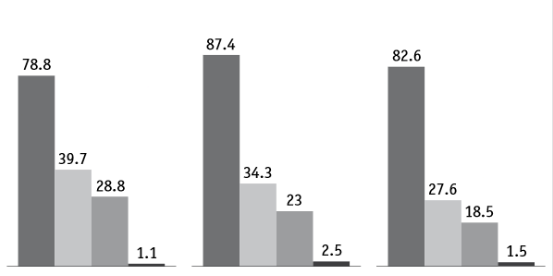
Bolivia

Although Bolivia seems to be a step ahead of the other countries in the region regarding its demographic information about indigenous languages and peoples, there are still some discrepancies between official statistics and those provided by the indigenous organizations. According to the most recent national census (INE, 2001), out of the total population aged 15 and over (8,234,325), 62.05 per cent (5,033,814) identified themselves as indigenous.

The largest indigenous language groups are Quechua (49.5 per cent), Aymara (40.7 per cent), Chiquitano (3.6 per cent) and Guaraní (2.6 per cent). All the other languages have fewer speakers (see Table 3).

There are about forty vital languages in Bolivia, although such vitality is relative since some of them have only a few speakers. Several of Bolivia's languages are endangered, even the most widely spoken (Quechua and Aymara). Figure 1 shows the increase in Spanish monolingualism over the last three decades. Such an increase is accompanied by the fact that between 1992 and 2001 the urban population increased by 40 per cent, mainly due to the rural–urban migration. Consequently, some 1.7 million indigenous people are now urban-dwellers, while only approximately 1.4 million have remained in rural areas. This has transformed many of Bolivia's main cities into multilingual spaces where indigenous languages are still widely spoken and new linguistic varieties emerge as a result of contact with Spanish and other indigenous languages. Some see this as a potentially successful strategy to modernize native languages, making them more compatible with a fairly Westernized urban lifestyle. Under such conditions, languages like Quechua and Aymara would have a better chance of survival.

FIGURE 1. COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGES OF SPANISH- AND INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE-SPEAKERS IN BOLIVIA



Sources: INE, 2001; Haboud, 2008, after Sichra (in press); INE – www.ine.gov.bo

Linguistic rights and state policies

Bolivia's reformed Constitution of 1994 recognized the country's multiethnic and plurilingual character, as well as indigenous rights. The same year, bilingual intercultural education became the basis of the national education system (Law No. 1565). According to this law, indigenous languages must be used in indigenous schools and also be taught in non-indigenous educational centres. It became mandatory to create bilingual curricula for schools located in bilingual regions. In 2000 thirty-five indigenous languages were declared official (Decree No. 25894) and were promoted as the main instrument of formal education.

One of Bolivia's current goals is to generate bottom-up linguistic policies that take into account indigenous peoples' own political projects. Bolivia is the only Andean country where Quechua and Aymara are used daily in public spaces, radio broadcasting and TV programmes. This will surely maintain some of the indigenous languages, mainly Quechua and Aymara, as vital languages.

Summary

South America and the central Andean region

South American countries are very diverse, not only in their geographical features and ecology, but also in their ethnic, cultural and linguistic composition. Many linguistic families are represented throughout the region. Some 100 vital languages – all of them endangered – are found in the central Andean region (Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia).

Quechua and Aymara are the most widely spoken languages in the Andean highlands (see Table 4). Quechua consists of two main branches: the languages spoken in central Peru (Quechua I) and those spoken elsewhere (Quechua II), which are found both north and south of Quechua I. The language is known as Inga in Colombia, Quichua in Ecuador and Argentina, and Quechua elsewhere. It has between 8 million and 12 million speakers throughout South America (from Colombia to Chile) and has expanded to rural and urban areas, replacing local languages such as Zaparo and Andoa in Ecuador. Nevertheless, Quechua populations are affected by poverty, migration, local political crises, social and economic inequalities, and all kinds of globalizing factors with negative impacts on the vitality of their language. Spanish has been influenced by a series of Quechua phonological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics, and shifting to Spanish is the goal of many Quechua-speakers. The degree of vitality of Quechua varies greatly in each country, each region and each speech community.

There are other transnational languages in the coastal and Amazonian regions. Languages of the Barbacoan and Chocoan families share borders with Ecuador and Colombia, while Tucanoan languages extend into Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Brazil. The Tupi-Guaraní family has speakers in Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay and Peru. There are still many isolates; Bolivia alone has about a dozen languages without a family affiliation. A few ethnic groups remain in voluntary isolation and their languages are still unknown.

TABLE 4. THE TRANSNATIONALISM OF QUECHUA AND AYMARA IN SOUTH AMERICA

	Language and number of speakers	
Country	**Quechua**	**Aymara**
Argentina	(Quichua) 6,739[1]	4,104
Bolivia	2,530,985	2,001,947
Chile	6,175	48,501
Colombia	(Inga) 19,079	
Ecuador	(Quichua) 499,292	
Peru	3,214,564	440,816
Total	**6,276,834**	**2,495,368**

1. *The numbers of Quichua-speakers in Argentina vary greatly, depending on the source. The figure given in Table 4 comes from* Encuesta complementaria de pueblos indígenas (ECPI) *and does not include non-indigenous Quichua-speakers or Bolivian Quechua-speakers who have migrated to Argentina (www.indec.gov.ar/webcenso/ECPI/pueblos/datos/W020601.xl).*

Sources: INDEC (Argentina); INE (Bolivia); INEC (Ecuador); Chirinos, 2001; Sichra, in press.

Demographics and discrepancies

There are still many discrepancies regarding the demography of indigenous peoples and indigenous languages throughout the central Andean area. This is mainly due to different criteria and methodologies applied to national and local censuses, to disagreements between national and local interests and to ongoing internal and external migratory movements.

Indigenous languages, low prestige and sociolinguistic insecurity

Historically, indigenous languages have been discriminated against and their speakers have been treated as second-class individuals. This has driven many speakers to systematically hide their languages in an attempt to achieve higher status within mainstream society and better social, economic and political conditions.

The impact of modernization and globalization on most traditional lifestyles needs to be taken into account when developing new initiatives in favour of indigenous languages and peoples.

Safeguarding measures

In all the central Andean countries, at least one indigenous language has been declared official (or of official use), and new linguistic and cultural policies have been developed with the aim of safeguarding ancestral languages and cultures. At the level of implementation, however, much remains to be done. In addition, all these countries have developed bilingual intercultural educational programmes. It is hoped that this will bring positive benefits both for speakers of indigenous languages and for society as a whole.

National and local indigenous organizations in each of the countries discussed have found ways to raise their voices to demand equal treatment. So far, they have brought about important social changes at different levels (local services, internal budgets directed to indigenous issues, and so on); however, the most isolated indigenous groups still need further help and encouragement. Maintaining their ancestral land is now one of the main conditions for the preservation of language and culture.

Many of the indigenous languages of Latin America have been the subject of extensive academic research; others need further analysis. It is important that the existing documentation is converted into effective materials for language preservation and revitalization.

Mexico and Central America

Yolanda Lastra

Every day we become conscious of increasing globalization: each time we find fruit from a different continent for sale in our shops or when we buy clothing with material from one country, made somewhere else, with labels in several of the world's dominant languages. While we celebrate the rapid communications made possible by the internet, we are more aware of continuing violence and human suffering. Small communities find it difficult to survive in this changing world; increasing urbanization is eradicating precious languages that took centuries to develop their idiosyncratic character, perfectly adapted for use within their particular environment, economy and culture. Economic and social pressures from dominant groups foster bilingualism in both local and world languages; lack of work encourages migration, which in turn may lead people to abandon their native language in favour of one that allows them to acquire a better way of making a living.

No doubt every linguist has pondered the situation, causing some to concentrate on describing it scientifically, trying to document language loss, language contact, language displacement, or revitalizing languages by different means. A small contribution to the reversal of the trend of language displacement and eventual extinction is to make laypeople aware of the loss we face as human beings. This Atlas, a joint effort by a small group of specialists, represents one positive way of educating the public in the hope that they will contribute to a reversal of the tragedy of world language homogenization.

Mexico's history as a nation begins with the conquest of what was called New Spain in the sixteenth century, but it has roots in pre-Columbian times, when Nahuatl-speakers in its central area dominated many groups speaking diverse languages. Although the northern area was not as densely populated, many languages were spoken there. In Chiapas and Yucatan, Mayan languages predominated. With the arrival of the Spanish conquistadors, Castilian Spanish became the official language, but most indigenous languages survived in spite of severe demographic losses. With independence from Spain in 1821, Spanish continued as the official language, and indigenous languages suffered discrimination and gradual shift that continues to this day in spite of recent attempts to reverse the trend.

Central America comprises seven independent countries. Belize, formerly British Honduras, has a separate history and did not become independent until 1981. Panama was part of Colombia but became a separate country in 1903. The other five countries (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica) shared a common history until former provinces separated and became independent countries early in the nineteenth century. Some of the differences between these countries and central Mexico go back to pre-Hispanic times, when the isthmus had a distinct culture from that of Mesoamerica (Constenla Umaña, 1991; Lastra de Suárez, 2006). Other differences are due to the large African population imported by the Spaniards to work in the mines and the consequences of piracy.

Mexico

There has been a major change in Mexico since the publication of the second edition of the Atlas: a Constitutional amendment (August 2001) declared that the nation is pluricultural, and that indigenous peoples are those who inhabited the present-day territory when colonization began and who, at least partially, preserve their own social and cultural institutions. Indigenous communities should have the right to preserve and enrich their languages; their customs should be respected; and they have the right to be supported and defended by officers and interpreters who understand their culture.

In 2003 a federal law recognized the linguistic rights of indigenous peoples, including those Amerindians who have settled in the country since independence. The Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas (INALI, National Institute for Indigenous Languages) was created at the same time. Its purpose is to promote the development of indigenous languages and to advise all three government levels about appropriate policies leading to their protection.

In 2006 changes were made to the Education Law, giving speakers of indigenous languages the right of access to education both in their own language and in Spanish. Previously, Spanish was the sole medium of instruction, although indigenous languages were taught as subjects in primary schools located in areas where such languages are spoken.

In 2005 INALI published the *Catálogo de lenguas indígenas mexicanas: cartografía contemporánea de sus asentamientos históricos* [Catalogue of Indigenous Mexican Languages: Present-day Cartography of their Historical Settlements]. This series of maps includes all the communities where a given language or variety is spoken, giving number of speakers, percentage in comparison with speakers of the dominant language (Spanish) and other such statistics. In January 2008 INALI published its *Catálogo de las lenguas indígenas nacionales: variantes lingüísticas de México con sus autodenominaciones* [Catalogue of Indigenous National Languages: Linguistic Variants of Mexico and their Self-designation].

For many years linguists have been debating the number of languages in Mexico. For a long time, some official documents recognized 56 languages, but linguists suspected there were around 150. Here we face the perennial problem of deciding what is a well-differentiated dialect and what is a language. It is a particularly difficult issue when there is no standardization, as with Mexican indigenous languages. Most of the country is mountainous, and villages and small towns where a given language is spoken are not in touch with other communities. Consequently, speakers in one town find it difficult to understand speakers from another town when they come into contact, so that they may resort to Spanish, for many years the only official language and still the lingua franca. When there are conflicts over land or rivalries over the control of water sources, for example, people may deny that they have a common language. Consequently, unless detailed sociolinguistic studies are carried out, it will be difficult to decide exactly how many languages there are and what territory they occupy.

In general, what was previously considered a language with a traditional name employed since colonial times, such as Mixtec or Totonac, is really a family of languages: it might consist of two languages (as in the case of Mazahua and Pame) or as many as forty (as in the case of Zapotec). There are names for these families, but frequently not for their constituents. INALI's commitment to the defence of languages has caused it, in some cases, to over-differentiate and to classify as separate languages what linguists would call dialects. This has to be borne in mind when consulting the maps prepared for this Atlas because in many cases we have followed INALI's nomenclature.

INALI uses the language classification in Campbell (1997), but adopts the term 'language family' for what linguists consider a stock, 'linguistic group' for what linguists would generally call a family, and 'language or language variety' for what linguists would call languages or highly differentiated dialects. The final count includes 11 'language families' (stocks), 68 'linguistic groups' (families) and 364 'varieties' (languages or highly differentiated dialects).

The research undertaken for this Atlas was partly based on the above-mentioned INALI publications and on an unpublished INALI document that includes number of speakers and child speakers by variety. Census data usually refer to the 2000 census, but some contributors preferred to use 2005 figures based on a partial census by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática (INEGI, National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Computer Science). Census figures refer to the number of speakers aged 5 years or older.

Within the confines of this Atlas, it would clearly be impossible to compare statistics for all Mexico's indigenous languages; a few examples will suffice. On average, the number of speakers has not changed markedly in the last ten years: the number of Huave-speakers has increased from 11,955 to 25,568; Pame from 5,700 to 7,736; Purepecha from 94,835 to 97,914; Kiliwa from 41 to 56; and Cucapá from 136 to 206. Others have decreased: for example, Mazatecan from 168,374 to 165,596; Mazahuan from 127,826 to 115,935; Chichimec from 1,582 to 1,362; Matlatzinca from 1,452 to 651; and Ocuiltec from 755 to 405. Even if there are considerable numbers of speakers, languages are endangered if fewer children acquire them.

In summary, forty-six languages in Mexico appear to be vulnerable, thirty-five are definitely endangered, thirty-three are severely endangered and nineteen are critically endangered.

Central America

Two of the seven countries that constitute Central America, Panama and Belize, have had a history separate from that of the other five countries, which evolved together. Between 1525 and 1535 Spanish invaders conquered the region and towards the end of the century they governed it as one entity, with the exception of what is now Panama. This was a time when piracy ravaged the Atlantic coast with the help of the indigenous peoples, mostly Miskitos. Spanish settlers imported Africans to work in the mines. Since many of them mixed with the indigenous and Spanish inhabitants, an Afro-Caribbean culture developed from Belize to Panama. This history explains the origin of English-based creoles that are still spoken today along the Atlantic coast.

By 1821 the different provinces had succeeded in winning their independence and eventually became five separate countries with Spanish as the official language. Panama had been integrated with the south since 1570 and became a separate country in 1903 when the Canal was built. Belize was settled by pirates and later by Jamaicans. Britain established a colony there in 1862 and granted it independence in 1981. Its official language and the language of education is English but most people speak an English-based creole, although there are also Mayan-, Spanish- and Garífuna-speakers. Two Amerindian languages were found to be vulnerable: one definitely endangered and the other severely endangered.

Guatemala

Guatemala has had a turbulent history since it became a republic in 1839, and the indigenous population has until recently been denied basic linguistic and other rights. The revolts, the civil war and the constant political upheavals have not provided a conducive climate for the granting of linguistic rights. Consequently, even though the figures for the number of speakers of indigenous languages are high, many peasants seek work outside their communities and become bilingual; they subsequently abandon their native language in favour of Spanish. Many squatters live in Belize and others try to migrate north, crossing over illegally to Mexico.

There has been no definite government support for bilingual intercultural education, although over half the children of school age speak a Mayan language and in spite of a 2003 language law that proclaims support for indigenous languages.

El Salvador

El Salvador is the smallest country in Central America and the only one with no Atlantic coastline. It had speakers of Lenca and was later settled by speakers of Pipil, a Uto-Aztec language. Most Pipil-speakers were accused of being communists and were nearly exterminated in 1932; the survivors did not transmit the language to their children, but now there is some hope for its revitalization.

Honduras

Honduras was a flourishing centre of Mayan civilization before the Spanish conquest. According to the latest language count (2001), 15 per cent of the population are of African or Amerindian descent and about half of them speak an indigenous language.The descendants of former semi-nomadic tribes inhabit the tropical forests in the eastern part of the country. They have preserved their languages (Miskitos and Garífunas) and take the lead in demanding political rights. In 1997 some steps were taken to support the development of bilingual education but results have thus far been limited.

Costa Rica

Spanish conquistadors arrived in Costa Rica in the sixteenth century, when the Nahuatl culture still prevailed in the north-west and Chibchan influences were manifest in the south-east. Today, speakers of indigenous languages constitute only 1 per cent of the population. The University of

Costa Rica carries out excellent research on Amerindian languages and supports several maintenance programmes in the country.

Nicaragua

Settled by the Spanish in 1524, Nicaragua quickly saw its indigenous population decimated by war and disease. Today just 5 per cent of the population is Amerindian, largely confined to the Caribbean coast. In 1979 the Sandinista Popular Revolution raised hopes among the marginalized indigenous communities of the Atlantic coast that they would be incorporated politically into the nation. Autonomy was granted to two territories where bilingual education programmes are supported.

Panama

Panama was settled by the Spanish in 1519 but had a continuous (Chibchan, Chocoan, Cueva) settlement going back at least 10,000 years. Almost all the surviving indigenous languages have adequate orthographies. Intercultural bilingual education is being made effective. Furthermore, there is currently a plan for the National Assembly to declare these as official languages together with Spanish.

Acknowledgements

Information about the linguistic situation of indigenous languages in these countries was obtained from Adolfo Constenla (Costa Rica) in the form of publications and personal communications; Danilo Salamanca, particularly on Misumalpan languages, but generally through his contacts for most of Central America; Lucía Verdugo for Guatemala; Marcela Carías for Honduras; Ana Montalván for Panama; Colette Grinewald for Nicaragua; and Jorge Lemus for El Salvador. In addition, Anita Herzfeld provided information on Atlantic English-based creoles. Most of the census data was obtained from the internet with the help of Manuel Suárez. Their generous support is gratefully acknowledged.

This chapter also benefited from the contributions of several specialists. We express our gratitude for the sharing of their knowledge and list them according to the language or family in which they work: Steve Marlett (Yuman, Seri and Algic); Zarina Estrada (northern Yuto Aztecan); Carolyn MacKay and Frank Treschel (Totonacan); Thomas Smith-Stark (Mixtecan and Zapotecan); Claudine Chamoreau (Purepecha); Samuel Herrera (Huave); Loretta O'Connor (Oaxaca Chontal); Leopoldo Valiñas (Mixe-Zoque); and Antonio García Zúñiga (Mayan).

United States of America

Chris Rogers, Naomi Palosaari and Lyle Campbell

This chapter treats the endangered indigenous languages of the continental United States. We survey the situation with respect to specific languages and some of the efforts to preserve and revitalize them. With regard to extinct languages, our scope is limited to those that have become extinct since the creation of UNESCO in 1945; the picture would be markedly different if all the extinct languages known were included (see Golla et al., 2007).

In some situations, geographical locations for particular languages are difficult to give with precision. Numerous languages are or were spoken over a wide area, but many have not been studied in a way that would provide a clear understanding of the extent of their territory. Others are spoken in several non-adjacent locations. For example, Shoshoni (Shoshone) is spoken in several different places across four states, including the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho; the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming; Ibapah, Brigham City, and the Goshute Reservation in Skull Valley, both in Utah; Ely, Duck Valley, Duck Water and Battle Mountain, all in Nevada; and numerous others – with about 2,000 speakers spread across these communities.

Historical and geographical context

The continental United States is an area of extreme linguistic loss, since many of the languages once spoken here have disappeared and many others are highly endangered. When Europeans first arrived, some 280 native languages were spoken in what is now continental US territory, representing 51 independent language families (including language isolates, that is, language families with only one member and no known relatives). Nearly half of these languages are now extinct, and all the surviving languages are endangered to some extent.[1] The fifty-one language families include the following:

- **Fourteen larger language families,** with several member languages each: Algic, Caddoan, Cochimí-Yuman, Eskimo-Aleut, Iroquoian, Kiowa-Tanoan, Muskogean, Na-Dene (narrow sense), Plateau, Salishan, Siouan-Catawba, Utian (Miwok-Costanoan), Uto-Aztecan and Wakashan.
- **Sixteen small language families,** made up of a few languages each: Atakapan, Chimakuan, Chinookan, Chumashan, Coosan, Kalapuyan, Keresan, Maiduan, Palaihnihan, Pomoan, Salinan, Shastan, Timucuan, Wintuan, Yokuts and Yukian.
- **Twenty-one isolates:** Adai, Alsean, Aranama, Calusa, Cayuse, Chimariko, Chitimacha, Coahuilteco, Esselen, Karankawa, Karuk, Kutenai, Natchez, Siuslaw, Takelma, Tonkawa, Tunica, Washo, Yuchi, Yana and Zuni (Campbell, 1997; Goddard, 1996; Mithun, 1999; Golla, 2007; Golla et al., 2007).

Of these fifty-one language families, nearly half (twenty-four) are already extinct, twelve of them since 1945. Half of the small families (eight out of sixteen) are extinct, and many of the twenty-one isolates have become extinct, where only five have speakers today. Several branches of larger families have also been lost: Eyak in Na-Dene; Southern New England Algonquian and Wiyot in broader Algic; Tsamosan in Salishan; Costanoan in Utian; Catawban in Siouan-Catawba; Klamath-Modoc and Molala in Plateau; and the Cochimí branch of Cochimí-Yuman, among others. Other families will soon follow – Chinookan, Maiduan, Palaihnihan, Wintuan and Yukian all have fewer than twenty elderly speakers. Of the 280 languages once known here, more than 115 (over 40 per cent) are already extinct, and, as mentioned, many others will soon follow.

Children are learning very few of these languages, although there are many programmes aimed at language revitalization. Among the numerous factors contributing to this large-scale linguistic loss, we mention three general ones (see Grinevald, 1998). First, the small number of speakers of some languages makes them especially vulnerable to pressure from the dominant English-speaking culture. Second, in some cases there has been a shift from one language to another unrelated indigenous language as tribes have formed confederations or been forced to share a single reservation. Third, there is pressure on speakers of all ages and levels of proficiency to shift to English for reasons such as education and perceived economic advantage.

These problems are accentuated by the fact that the often prevailing attitude in the US is one of anti-bilingualism and of English-only policies. This affects the resources available to language communities to preserve and use their native languages (Hinton, 2001*a*). The pressure towards language shift results in a devaluation of native languages and their cultures.

It should also be noted that linguistic and cultural loss can occur irrespective of the size of the language. Even for languages that have a large number of speakers such as Navajo (with approximately 120,000), the threat of extinction through shift to a dominant language is still significant, since each year fewer Navajo children speak the language fluently. A recent study found that only 45 per cent of Navajo children spoke fluent Navajo at the time they entered pre-school, between the ages of 3 and 5 (Platero, 2001). The impact of external social factors on the extinction of languages is now well understood,[2] and it is clear that no minority language of any size is safe from extinction unless there are strict policies in place to promote it.

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[1] *Much of the information here follows Golla (2007) and Golla et al. (2007).*

The situation in California is revealing. At the time of the 1849 Gold Rush, nearly 100 different indigenous languages were spoken there. Now, there are fewer than fifty with fluent speakers, nearly all elderly, and in none of these cases do any of the speakers use the indigenous language as their first language. Unless dominant attitudes change and some of the revitalization efforts under way are effective, the near future will see the disappearance of all California's American Indian languages.

Language revitalization

Recent years have seen an increased interest in language preservation and revitalization all over the world, including the United States (Hinton and Hale, 2001). Many American Indian language communities are interested in language maintenance efforts and revitalization programmes. However, due to insufficient support and a lack of resources, most of these programmes have a limited capacity to effect change. Some aim to increase the number of speakers over time; others try to ensure that young members of the community have increased contexts in which to hear and speak the language; others have an interest in maintaining traditions and other cultural goals. All the communities that have language programmes are concerned with the loss of their cultural identity and heritage, with which language is closely connected.

The Karuk community of northern California, for example, has formed a committee whose goal is the restoration of their language. This committee is faced with the daunting task of increasing language usage. They have opted for the 'communication-based instruction' approach to language teaching. This method is believed to have 'a real, positive, and – we hope – lasting impact on the rejuvenation of the Karuk language' (Supahan and Supahan, 2001, p. 197). The goal of the programme is to introduce students to the language through new vocabulary, followed by a guided practice in the use of the language and then an independent practice (Supahan and Supahan, 2001, p. 196). It is hoped that students will then have acquired the vocabulary and will use it in their daily lives outside school and the classroom. This programme appears to meet the goals and expectations of the language committee.

Another frequently cited example comes from the Navajo community in Fort Defiance, Arizona. Navajo is the largest indigenous language in the US, but it is not impervious to threats to its survival. In the 1980s the community surveyed the language abilities of K-2 students for their competence in Navajo and reported a worrying trend: most school-age children did not have even a passive knowledge of the language. Community members were alarmed at the contraction of use among younger members and decided on a school immersion programme to encourage the use of Navajo. This programme requires Navajo to be the language of instruction from kindergarten to fifth grade, with decreased instruction in the language as children grow older. The community reports an increase in the contexts in which children use Navajo and an increased general interest in Navajo culture throughout the community. Nevertheless, Navajo is still not considered safe and is faced with the threat of extinction (Arviso and Holm, 2001, pp. 203–15).

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[2] *See Dorian, ed. (1989) for a good introduction; and England (1998) for a discussion of the situation with regard to Mayan languages*

A number of approaches and programmes for language preservation, revitalization or revival have been adopted, including 'language nests' (for example, tribally sponsored pre-schools), occasional school classes where the American Indian language instruction is on the model of second-language acquisition, immersion camps, immersion programmes in schools, adult language classes, adult literacy programmes, the internet (used effectively in dispersed communities: for example, Potawatomi and Choctaw), the master-apprentice programme, the Breath-of-Life programme, and others.

The often cited master-apprentice programme, begun in California, is believed to have had considerable success in meeting its goals. It was designed to allow 'native speakers and young adults to work together intensively so that the younger members may develop conversational proficiency in the language' (Hinton, 2001*b*, p. 217). While this programme has had a number of success stories, it also has limitations because of the lack of resources like time and energy. However, it is a step in the right direction in that it takes a proactive stance in language preservation.

Revitalization and language instruction programmes of various types are under way for numerous languages.[3] They vary greatly, and include: vocabulary teaching,[4] language nests and pre-schools,[5] master-apprentice programmes,[6] the Head Start programme,[7] immersion classes,[8] immersion camps,[9] school programmes,[10] courses at universities and tribal colleges,[11] internet and distance education,[12] and various summer programmes, language courses for adults and community programmes.

Some revival efforts involve languages that no longer have native speakers, based on documentation from earlier times.[13] Several of these programmes are considered success stories.[14]

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[3] *Alabama, Arapaho, Arikara, Assiniboine, Atsina (Gros Ventre), Blackfoot, Catawba, Chemehuevi, Cherokee, Cheyenne, Choctaw, Chumash, Cocopa, Coeur d'Alene, Creek, Crow, Delaware, Dena'ina, Diegueño, Gwich'in, Hanis, Hopi, Kalispel, Kansa, Klallam, Klamath, Kutenai, Laguna (Acoma-Laguna Keresan), Lakota Sioux, Luiseño, Lushootseed, Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, Mandan, Maricopa, Massachusett-Narragansett (Wampanoag), Menominee, Miami-Illinois, Miluk, Mohave, Mohawk, Mutsun, Navajo, Nez Perce, Northern Paiute, Ojibwe, Omaha, Pawnee, Potawatomi, Quechan, Rumsen, Sahaptin, Seneca, Serrano, Shawnee, Shoshone, Washo, Winnebago (Ho-Chunk), Wyandotte, Yuchi (Euchee), Yup'ik, Yurok and Zuni, among others.*

[4] *For example, Karuk, Quechan and Quileute.*

[5] *Alabama, Delaware, Lakota Sioux, Maliseet-Passamaquoddy and Wukchumne (Wikchamni) Yokuts.*

[6] *Chemehuevi, Karuk, Luiseño, Menominee, Northern Paiute, Washo, Wintu and Wukchumne (Wikchamni) Yokuts.*

[7] *Klallam, Klamath and Potawatomi.*

[8] *Arapaho, Blackfoot, Lushootseed, Mississippi Choctaw, Mohawk, Navajo and Washo.*

[9] *Acoma Keresan, Cheyenne, Crow, Karuk and Ojibwe.*

[10] *Cheyenne, Coeur d'Alene, Creek, Diegueño, Gwich'in, Hupa, Klallam, Laguna Keresan, Navajo, Northern Paiute, Pawnee, Ponca, Rio Grande Keresan, Sierra Miwok, Washo and Yup'ik.*

[11] *Arikara, Atsina (Gros Ventre), Cherokee, Cheyenne, Choctaw, Cocopa, Coeur d'Alene (in college extension course), Comanche, Creek, Hopi, Kutenai, Lakota Sioux, Miami, Michif, Navajo, Ojibwe, Omaha, Potawatomi, Sahaptin (Yakima), Shoshone, South-western Ojibwe (Anishinaabemowin), Spokane, Tohono O'odham and Washo.*

[12] *Choctaw, Dena'ina, Klallam, Potawatomi and Seneca.*

[13] *Catawba, Chumash, Hanis, Kansa, Klamath, Massachusett-Narragansett (Wampanoag), Miami, Miluk, Mutsun, Rumsen, Siuslaw, Wiyot and Wyandotte.*

[14] *For example, Hualapai (Upland Yuman), Mississippi Choctaw and Mohawk.*

With respect to language extinction and language endangerment, the continental United States is one of the most severely affected regions in the world. With 51 language families (including isolates), this area represents 15 per cent of the world's total linguistic diversity of about 350 language families (and isolates). However, nearly half the US's linguistic diversity is already gone, with 24 of these 51 families (and more than 115 individual languages) already extinct. Many of these will not survive much longer – only about 20 languages from the approximately 155 that are still spoken have children learning them in standard transmission from one generation to the next. Furthermore, in several of these cases, it is only some children (ever fewer as time goes on) who are learning to speak them. It is almost certain that many of the surviving languages will cease to have speakers in the very near future.

There are, on the other hand, numerous schemes to revitalize many of these languages, some of which are proving highly successful in increasing the numbers of speakers. It can only be hoped that more of these will flourish, and that much greater effort will be put into such initiatives in the future.

Canada and Greenland

Mary Jane Norris

The endangered indigenous languages of Canada are those of Canada's Aboriginal peoples – the Inuit, First Nations and Métis. Their languages reflect a diversity of distinctive histories, cultures and identities, linked in many ways to family, community, the land and traditional knowledge. For all three groups – Inuit (who live in the Arctic), First Nations (North American Indian) and Métis (of mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry) – language is at the very core of their identity.

Aboriginal people are confronted with the fact that the majority of their languages are in danger of disappearing. It has been estimated that only about a third of the Aboriginal languages originally spoken in Canada have a good chance of survival and that 'Fewer than half of the remaining languages are likely to survive for another fifty years' (Kinkade, 1991). Kinkade indicates that at least five have been extinct for well over a hundred years, while others have barely survived into the present century, and at least two have become extinct within living memory. Today, the various languages and their communities differ widely in their size, state and levels of vitality and endangerment – some relatively flourishing, others endangered and some close to extinction. From a longer-term and more international perspective, even the largest and most viable of Canada's indigenous languages can be considered potentially vulnerable, and hence all Aboriginal languages are included in this Atlas. According to the 2006 Canadian census, about 222,000 people reported an Aboriginal language as their mother tongue, that is, the first language they learned at home in childhood and still understood at the time of the census.

Linguistic diversity and classifications

The diversity of Canada's Aboriginal languages is reflected in their classification and geographical distribution. The number of languages can vary, depending on the system of linguistic classification used. All language classifications are hierarchical, and there are variations in approach. For example, some linguists suggest that about fifty Aboriginal languages are spoken in Canada today (Kinkade, 1991). The classification system used by Statistics Canada in the national censuses organizes data on Aboriginal languages into eleven language families or isolates, comprising the language of the Inuit and the ‘Amerindian’ languages spoken by the First Nations and Métis peoples. Further classification within the census data yields counts for about thirty-five separately identified languages. The census classification system does not provide complete details, however, especially since smaller languages are grouped together owing to their small population counts. In contrast with the census data classification of thirty-five languages, the most recent (fifteenth) edition of the *Ethnologue* estimates that Canada has seventy-eight indigenous living languages (i.e. spoken as a first language) (Gordon, 2005).

There is no definitive classification of Aboriginal languages in Canada. Where the *Ethnologue* gives a total of 78, the second edition of this Atlas identified 104, and in this third edition we list 86 (the decrease from the second to the third edition is attributable mainly to the dropping of trade or pidgin languages and those that have been extinct for more than a century). The classification system used here for Canada’s indigenous languages and communities is based on three major sources: Statistics Canada census data (supplemented with some language information from Indian and Northern Affairs Canada), the previous edition of this Atlas and the *Ethnologue* (Gordon, 2005). It is most compatible with, though not identical to, that of the *Ethnologue*, yielding eighty-six languages, plus two that are known to have become extinct within living memory. (Where the *Ethnologue* treats Inuktitut as a single language, we consider it here as several, thus accounting for most of the difference between their count and ours.) It is recognized that there are variations in classifications, spellings and naming. Many Aboriginal languages and communities have multiple names. Sometimes, these names are minor spelling variations of the same word (e.g. Ojibway, Ojibwe, Ojibwa), but in other cases, the names are completely different (Dene – Chipewyan; Nootka – Nuuchahnulth).

Languages of the Inuit

Inuktitut, with a mother-tongue population of about 33,000 in 2006, is one of the three largest and most viable Aboriginal languages in Canada, along with Cree and Ojibway. Inuktitut refers to the languages of the Inuit in Canada and Greenland. The Inuit language (the term now used by the Territory of Nunavut in its legislation to refer to the overarching language, rather than Inuktitut) varies across northern Canada, so that numerous dialects or languages are recognized. For this Atlas, ten distinct languages are identified, spread across the four major Inuit regions. These are the recently (1999) created territory of Nunavut, Nunavik in northern Quebec, the Inuvialuit region of the Northwest Territories, and Nunatsiavut in northern Labrador.

While these dialects or languages can be interrelated or overlapping, especially neighbouring dialects, they become increasingly distinct over large distances so that a speaker of one dialect will have difficulty communicating with a speaker of another. The different dialects can have different writing systems or orthographies. For example, in western Nunavut, the Natsilingmiutut language is written with syllabics, whereas Inuinnaqtun is written with a Roman orthography rather than syllabics. Further east in Labrador, a Roman orthography is used for Nunatsiavummiutut.

Greenland is aligned politically with Europe (via Denmark), but linguistically with North America. The three indigenous languages belong to the Inuit language family. All three are relatively healthy, but the population bases for the northern languages (Avanersuarmiutut or Inuktun) and eastern language (Tunumiit oraasiat) are much smaller than for the western language (Kalaallisut). Kalaallisut is one of the two official languages of Greenland, along with Danish.

Languages of First Nations and Métis

First Nations languages are diverse, with the classification here of seventy-four different languages across Canada. Overall, Cree is spoken by the largest number of First Nations peoples, followed by Ojibway, Oji-Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi. The Métis also speak a number of these languages, mainly Cree, Dene, Ojibway and other Algonquin languages, including, to a lesser extent, Michif (Statistics Canada, 2008). Michif is a mixture of Cree and French, and is the traditional language of the Red River Métis located in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Overall, the largest mother-tongue populations in 2006, based on Statistics Canada language categories, include those of Cree (85,000), Ojibway (26,000), Oji-Cree (12,000) and Montagnais-Naskapi (11,000).

Geography influences the size and diversity of languages, such that the languages with the largest mother-tongue populations also tend to be more widespread – particularly the large language families as categorized by Statistics Canada. The whole Algonquian family, with a total mother-tongue population of about 152,000 in 2006, extends from the Atlantic to the Rockies, comprising a wide range of languages such as Micmac in eastern Canada and Blackfoot in the west, as well as the largest languages of Cree (85,000) and Ojibway (26,000). The Cree family of languages is the most widespread, ranging from Eastern Montagnais (Innu-aimun) in Labrador to Plains Cree in the foothills of the Rockies. The Ojibway family of languages ranges from the Ottawa language in southern Ontario to Saulteau in the Great Plains.

Similarly, the Athapaskan family of languages (with a total mother-tongue population of about 20,000 in 2006) is widely distributed throughout the north-west, including Han and Gwichin in the Yukon, Dene, Dogrib and South Slavey in the Northwest Territories, and Carrier and Chilcotin in British Columbia. The Siouan family (Stoney, Dakota and Lakota), with a total mother-tongue population of 6,000 in 2006, is spoken largely in Alberta. The Iroquoian languages in the east, which include Mohawk, are spoken in both Canada and the United States along the St Lawrence valley. Due to incomplete enumeration of their reserves in the census, speaker counts are not complete for the Iroquoian languages.

In sharp contrast to these larger languages, those in British Columbia are much smaller, having population bases that were never as widely dispersed as those of Algonquian and Athapaskan across the more open central plains and eastern woodlands. This can be attributed to the province's mountainous geography. The province has some of the smallest and most endangered Aboriginal mother-tongue populations in Canada, including the Salish family (3,700), the Tsimshian family (2,400), the Wakashan family (1,200), Kutenai isolate (155), Haida isolate (130) and Tlingit (90) (all 2006 figures). The province has the greatest diversity of languages, with twenty-seven of Canada's eighty-six languages (nearly a third) indigenous to British Columbia, yet it accounts for only about 7 per cent of the country's Aboriginal mother-tongue population because of the small speaker populations.

Historical background

Language transmission from one generation to another is the major factor in Aboriginal language survival and maintenance. As with other minority languages, the continual exposure to dominant languages, with the need to use them in everyday life, is a powerful catalyst for the decline of Aboriginal languages. The extent to which many have been predominantly oral may also affect their survival. Many of Canada's Aboriginal languages are endangered and have already suffered great losses and setbacks, reflecting historical factors associated with the forces of colonization and the legacy of the residential school system that saw the prohibition of First Nation, Inuit and Métis languages and cultural practices (Castellano and Archibald, 2008); wrongs the government of Canada acknowledged in its formal apology for the aftermath of the Indian Residential School system, 11 June, 2008 (http://pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=2149). The impact of the long-term erosion of these languages from generation to generation is evident today, with only about one in five of Canada's 1.2 million Aboriginal people reporting an Aboriginal language as their mother tongue in the 2006 census.

Current status and recent trends in language endangerment

Children are the major source of growth for the Aboriginal mother-tongue population in Canada. However, their percentage contribution to first-language speakers has declined over the long term, leading to an ageing mother-tongue population. Over the past twenty-five years, from 1981 to 2006, census data show that many Aboriginal languages in Canada, especially endangered ones, have undergone long-term declines in intergenerational transmission and mother-tongue (first-language) populations, reflected in rising average ages and shrinking populations of first-language speakers. Decreasing use in the home is reducing the chances of young people acquiring their traditional language as a mother tongue.

The long-term viability or continuity of an Aboriginal language is dependent on it being used on a daily basis and, ideally, as the one 'spoken most often' in the home (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). Declining language maintenance and home use are linked to the life cycle, and in particular to the transition from youth to adulthood; young women appear the most affected in this transition (Norris, 1998). This is significant because it is during these years of transition that women leave home, enter the labour force, move to a larger urban environment, marry or bring up young children – potentially the next generation of speakers. Factors such as increasing migration from and between Aboriginal communities and cities, and linguistic intermarriage (all tending to be higher for women than men), and the prevailing influence of English and French in daily life, all serve to erode home use (Norris, 2007).

Language differences between younger and older generations of Aboriginal people in 2006 reflect long-term declines in intergenerational transmission. Overall, among those aged 65 and over, 33 per cent had an Aboriginal language as their mother tongue, in contrast to just 15 per cent of children and young people. This overall low proportion of first-language speakers among younger generations points to endangerment, given that in general a language can be considered endangered if it is not learned by at least 30 per cent of the children in a community (Wurm, 1996).

Levels of language endangerment

Aboriginal languages vary significantly in their state, trends and outlook. In his classification of Aboriginal languages in Canada, Kinkade (1991) divided them into five groupings: already extinct; near extinction (generally known by only a few elderly people); endangered (still spoken by enough people to make survival a possibility); viable, but with a small population base; and viable with a large population (usually spoken in isolated communities or well-organized ones with strong self-awareness). Languages that are viable or healthy and are being passed on to the next generation of children have lower average speaker ages than endangered ones irrespective of population size.

The set of nine major evaluative factors recommended by UNESCO provides a comprehensive framework for assessing language

TABLE 1. ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES IN CANADA: DISTRIBUTIONS OF LANGUAGES, COMMUNITIES

Level of endangerment (2nd edn Atlas in parentheses)	**UNESCO 2003 description**	**Distribution of Aboriginal languages in Canada**		**Aboriginal communities by level of language endangerment**		**First-language speakers in Aboriginal communities**	
		no.	**%**	**no.**	**%**	**no.**	**%**
Vulnerable (potentially endangered)	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.	24	28	444	50	134,000	90
Definitely endangered (endangered)	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.	14	16	132	15	8,200	5
Severely endangered (seriously endangered)	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up.	16	19	230	26	5,700	4
Critically endangered (moribund)	The language is used mostly by very few speakers, of the great-grandparental generation.	32	37	80	9	1,200	1
Extinct (extinct)	No speakers exist.[1]						
Total no. of languages/ communities/speakers		**86**	**100**	**886**	**100**	**149,100**	**100**

[1] *Two other languages have become extinct within living memory, c. 1930 and 1940.*

Notes and sources:

- *Classification of eighty-six languages and their communities based on three major sources: Statistics Canada data, 1996 and 2001 censuses; Wurm, 2001; Gordon, 2005; and websites.*
- *Level of endangerment for each language: based primarily on analysis and development of language indicators developed from customized retrievals of Statistics Canada 2001 census data, produced by Canadian Heritage.*
- *Mapping location of each language: based primarily on 2001 census data on geographical coordinates (latitude and longitude) of the community having the largest number of speakers for the given language.*

vitality and endangerment (UNESCO, 2003), while recognizing that no single factor can be used to assess a language's vitality. The major factor of 'intergenerational language transmission' is used here as the basis for determining degrees of endangerment, ranging from vulnerable to definitely endangered, severely endangered, critically endangered and extinct.

For the Aboriginal languages in Canada, 2001 census language data collected by Statistics Canada was the most comprehensive source for assessing their level of endangerment, including the development and analysis of community-level measures. For most of the country's eighty-six languages, indicators including the average age of first-language speakers combined with the absolute number of speakers (UNESCO Factor 2) were used to assign a level of endangerment to each language.

It is important to note that a level of endangerment is assigned to a given Aboriginal language based on the characteristics of first-language speakers residing in the Aboriginal communities associated with that particular language. (Also, detailed language classifications, dependent on the location of Aboriginal communities, could not be assigned to speakers outside these communities.) Although most first-language speakers tend to live in predominantly Aboriginal communities, others live outside such communities in cities and rural areas. The 2001 census included language statistics for 886 communities across Canada, representing 149,000 persons with an Aboriginal mother tongue (first-language speakers). This accounts for nearly three-quarters of the total mother-tongue population of 203,000. Among first-language speakers living outside Aboriginal communities, close to 39,000 lived in major cities across Canada, while the remaining 15,000 lived in smaller towns and rural areas.

Table 1 summarizes the overall distribution of the eighty-six different languages, their Aboriginal communities, and numbers of first-language (mother-tongue) speakers by levels of language endangerment. Twenty-eight per cent of the languages are classified as vulnerable, although several are healthy or viable, with young generations of speakers. The remaining 72 per cent are endangered, and over a third are critically endangered. Aboriginal languages are vulnerable in half the communities analysed and are endangered in the other half. In almost one in ten communities, languages are critically endangered. Although nearly three out of four Aboriginal languages are endangered, they account for only 10 per cent of the speakers. In other words, 90 per cent of first-language speakers speak 28 per cent of Aboriginal languages (the more viable ones).

Endangerment of Inuit languages

The Inuktitut family of languages is overall one of the most viable Aboriginal languages in Canada, with a relatively large speaker population that includes children. However, the state of the Inuit language varies across regions: it is strongest in Nunavut and Nunavik (consistent with Statistics Canada, 2008). Nunatsiavummiutut (spoken in Labrador) and Inuinnaqtun (spoken in western Nunavut and Inuvialuit) are definitely endangered. Further to the west, Inupiatun and Siglitun in the Northwest Territories are severely endangered. An eleventh Inuktitut dialect, Rigolet in Labrador, is critically endangered with very few speakers.

Endangerment of First Nations and Métis languages

The seventy-six languages spoken by the First Nations and Métis vary significantly in their strength. The vast majority of these languages

(76 per cent) are endangered, and of these fifty-eight endangered languages, thirty-one are critically endangered, fifteen severely and twelve definitely. The remaining eighteen least endangered or strongest languages are classified as vulnerable, with children still speaking the language (to varying degrees). This latter category includes some of the largest viable languages from the major Algonquian, Athapaskan and Siouan language families. For example, such languages include all six Cree languages (Plains and Swampy Cree being the largest), Eastern Montagnais, Naskapi, some Ojibway (North-Western Ojibwe), Oji-Cree, Dene and Stoney.

The category of definitely endangered encompasses generally smaller languages, spoken mostly by parental and older generations. It includes several Athapaskan languages (Beaver, Chilcotin, North and South Slavey, Northern Tutchone), Dakota, Central Ojibwe, Blackfoot, Malecite, Mohawk, Okanagan and Shuswap. The severely endangered languages, characterized by older first-language speakers mostly from the grandparental generation, include some Athapaskan languages (such as Carrier, Gitskan, Gwich'in and Kaska), Salish (Halkomelem, Lillooet, Straits Salish and Thompson), and others such as Maniwaki Algonquin, Eastern Ojibwe, Ottawa, Nisga'a, Nootka and Kutenai.

Most of the thirty-one critically endangered languages, with very few first-language speakers and/or speakers only of the great-grandparental generation, are from a variety of language families. Most have speaker populations of 100 or fewer, while others have no reported speakers within the community. For languages without community speakers, it is difficult to determine whether there may be other speakers residing outside the community. In some cases, speakers may have been reported in the census but could have been grouped with other languages owing to their small numbers (e.g. Michif is grouped under 'Algonquian not included elsewhere').

Some examples of languages without any community-based speakers include Bungee, Cayuga, Han, Potawatomi, Squamish and Tagish. Examples of critically endangered languages include Athapaskan (Assiniboine, Sarcee, Sekani), Salish (Sechelt, Bella Coola, Comox/Sliammon), Wakashan (Haisla, Kwak'wala), Tshimsian, Haida, Tlingit and Algonquian (Western Abenaki).

Finally, two languages listed here are known to have become extinct within living memory: Pentlatch (1940) and Tsetsaut (*c.* 1930).

Trends in revitalization

There are signs of revitalization among Canada's endangered languages, especially among young people who are showing an interest in learning the traditional but endangered languages of their parents or grandparents as second languages. Second-language transmission is increasingly a necessary response for endangered languages, reflecting two phenomena: first, that many mother-tongue populations are ageing beyond child-bearing years; and, second, that for most children the ideal family and community conditions for mother-tongue transmission are becoming the exception rather than the norm. Demographic data show that the children most likely to learn an Aboriginal language as a second language are from linguistically mixed families and live in urban areas (Norris, 2008; Norris and Jantzen, 2003).

In both the 2001 and 2006 censuses, second-language learners accounted for a significant percentage of the speaking population among some of the most endangered languages. In 2001 they accounted for over half the speakers of Tlingit, Haida and smaller Salish languages. In younger age groups, second-language learners make up the majority of endangered language speakers. Among children under the age of 15 who could speak an endangered language in 2001, 71 per cent had learned it as a second language (Norris, 2007).

The language development of today's Aboriginal youth has significant implications for the future prospects of Canada's Aboriginal languages, particularly the endangered ones. Second-language acquisition by today's young people reflects an increasing interest and desire to learn their traditional languages, and more frequent opportunities for renewal and support. Even in the case of relatively strong languages like Inuktitut, Inuit youth say that they do not want to lose their ability to speak the language well, recognizing the importance of support through family, community and education, with opportunities to learn, hear and use it (Tulloch, 2005).

Safeguarding Aboriginal languages: developments, programmes and policies

Efforts to safeguard Aboriginal languages are relevant to several of the UNESCO factors of language vitality and endangerment, including domains of language use, new domains and media, materials for language education and literacy, language attitudes and government policies, and language documentation (UNESCO, 2003).

The Canadian Government created the Aboriginal Languages Initiative (ALI) in 1998 to fund a variety of community-based language projects such as language nests, master-apprentice programmes, language learning resources, documentation and archiving, communications and the media. Activities include the recording and transcribing of interviews with elders, the development of orthographies, dictionaries and lexicons for over twenty-five endangered languages, and promoting the use of Michif in Métis communities. Other federal initiatives and programmes support educational and learning resources for First Nations, Inuit and Métis languages across Canada in Aboriginal communities and schools, on reservations, in northern and remote locations, and in urban areas (First Nations and Inuit Cultural Education Centres, First Nations SchoolNet and Aboriginal Head Start).

Various Aboriginal language organizations, institutions and communities are developing language expertise and teaching resources such as the Community Linguist Certificate programme of the Canadian Indigenous Languages and Literacy Development Institute (CILLDI) and the Certificate programme for Inuktitut interpreters operated by Nunavut Arctic College. Other organizations include First Peoples' Heritage, Language and Culture Council and FirstVoices, which provides online electronic language resources to First Nations throughout the province of British Columbia.

The broadcast media are also expanding the awareness and learning of Aboriginal languages across Canada, including the northern communities. The Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) is broadcast nationally with programming by, for and about Aboriginal peoples, with almost 30 per cent of its programmes in a number of Aboriginal languages.

In both Nunavut and the Northwest Territories, Aboriginal languages have official status. The Official Languages Act of Nunavut (2008) establishes Inuit as an official language along with English and French, while the Inuit Language Protection Act (2008) provides a legal statement of the inherent right of the Inuit in Nunavut to use their language. In the Northwest Territories, official Aboriginal languages include Chipewyan, Cree, Gwich'in, Inuinnaqtun, Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, North Slavey, South Slavey and Tåîchô.

Many other examples of efforts to safeguard endangered Aboriginal languages in Canada could be given, pointing to a generally positive trend. More information is available online from various United Nations meetings, such as the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/session_seventh.html) and the International Expert Group Meeting on Indigenous Languages (http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/EGM_IL.html).

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Zapotec of San Felipe Tejalapan **5**
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Zapotec of the Southern mountains, northeast **5**
Zapotec of the Southern mountains, northwest lowlands **5**
Zapotec of the Valleys north **5**
Zapotec of the Valleys, central **5**
Zapotec of the Valleys, middle northwest **5**
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||Gana **16**
||Ku ||'e **16**
||Kx'au **16**
||Xegwi **16**
||Hoa **16**

Maps

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Third edition, entirely revised, enlarged and updated

Editor-in-Chief: Christopher Moseley

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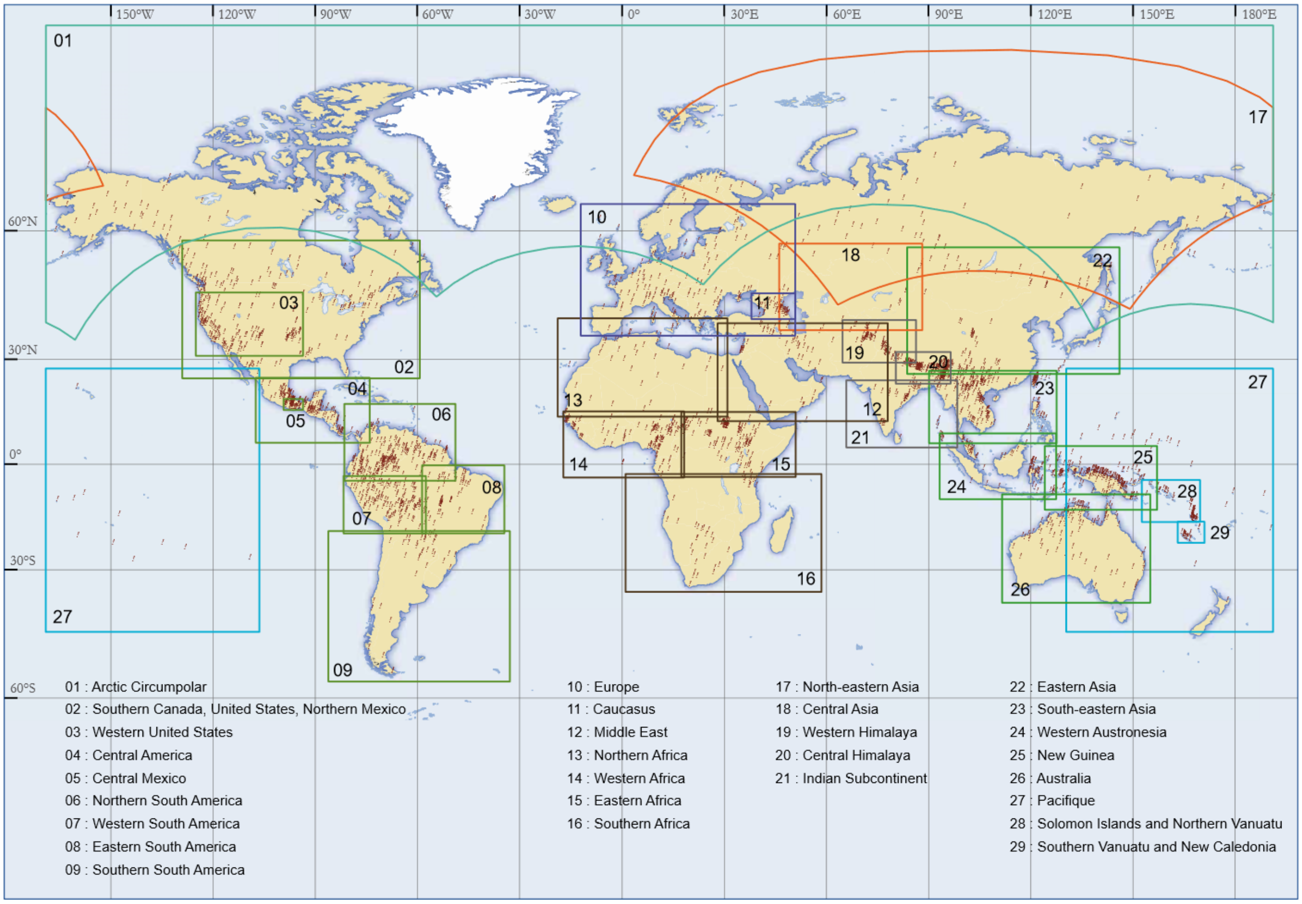
Memory of Peoples Series

This publication has been prepared with the greatest possible care.
However, it may be that a few errors have escaped our attention.
We thank our readers in advance for indicating to us any error or inconsistency,
so that we could improve subsequent editions of this work.

Guide to Maps


150°W
120°W
90°W
60°W
30°W
0°
30°E
60°E
90°E
120°E
150°E
180°E
60°N
30°N
0°
30°S
60°S
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05 : Central Mexico
06 : Northern South America
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08 : Eastern South America
09 : Southern South America
10 : Europe
11 : Caucasus
12 : Middle East
13 : Northern Africa
14 : Western Africa
15 : Eastern Africa
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17 : North-eastern Asia
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19 : Western Himalaya
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Map 1 Arctic Circumpolar

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Akkala Saami (RUS)
Aleut (3) (RUS; USA)
Alutor (RUS)
Arman (RUS)
Baraba Tatar (RUS)
Carrier (CAN)
Central Alaskan Yupik (2) (USA)
Central Siberian Yupik (2) (RUS; USA)
Chukchi (RUS)
Chulym Turk (RUS)
Copper Island Aleut (RUS)
Dogrib (CAN)
Dolgan (RUS)
East Cape Yupik (RUS)
East Greenlandic (GRL)
Even (2) (RUS)
Evenki (RUS)
Eyak (USA)
Forest Enets (RUS)
Forest Yukagir (RUS)
Gitksan (CAN)
Gwich'in (2) (CAN; USA)
Haisla (CAN)
Han (2) (CAN; USA)
Holikachuk (USA)
Inari Saami (FIN)
Ingalik (USA)
Inuinnaqtun (CAN)
Itelmen (RUS)
Kaska (CAN)
Kerek (RUS)
Kildin Saami (RUS)
Kili (RUS)
Kivallirmiutut (CAN)
Koryak (RUS)
Koyukon (USA)
Lule Saami (NOR; SWE)
Michif (CAN)
Nanay (CHN; RUS)
Naskapi (CAN)
Natsilingmiutut (CAN)
Negidal (RUS)
Nganasan (RUS)
Nisga'a (CAN)
Nivkh (2) (RUS)
North Alaskan Inupiaq (3) (CAN; USA)
North Greenlandic (GRL)
North Saami (FIN; NOR; RUS; SWE)
North Slavey (CAN)
Northern Haida (CAN; USA)
Northern Selkup (RUS)
Northern Tutchone (CAN)
Nunatsiavummiutut (CAN)
Nunavimmiutitut (CAN)
Old Sirenik (RUS)
Oroch (RUS)
Orok (RUS)
Pacific Gulf Yupik (USA)
Pite Saami (NOR; SWE)
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Qikiqtaaluk uannangani (CAN)
Rigolet Inuktitut (CAN)
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Skolt Saami (FIN; NOR; RUS)
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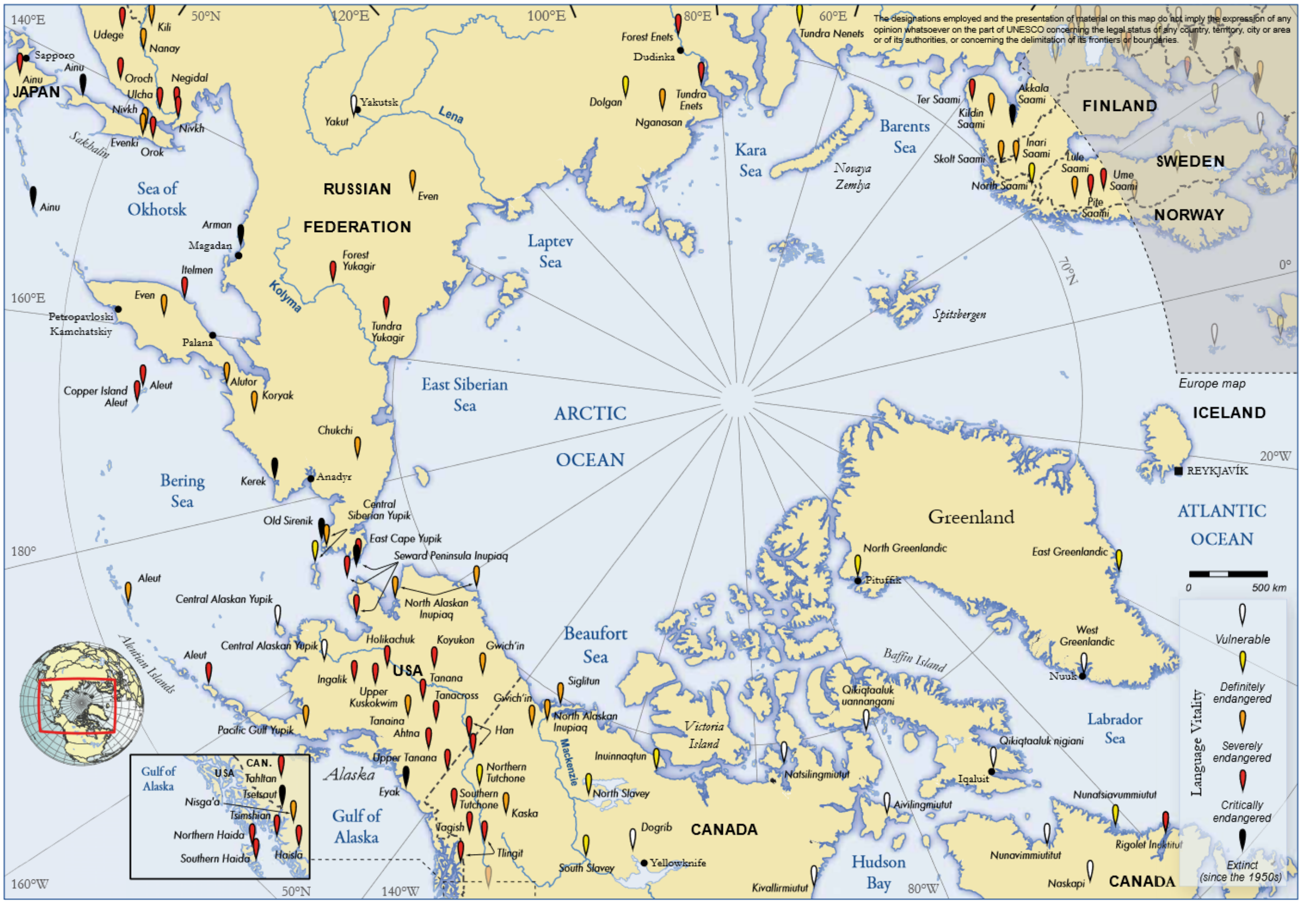
Southern Haida (CAN)
Southern Tutchone (CAN)
Tagish (CAN)
Tahltan (CAN)
Tanacross (USA)
Tanaina (USA)
Tanana (USA)
Ter Saami (RUS)
Tlingit (2) (CAN; USA)
Tsetsaut (CAN)
Tsimshian (CAN)
Tundra Enets (RUS)
Tundra Nenets (RUS)
Tundra Yukagir (RUS)
Udege (RUS)
Ulcha (RUS)
Ume Saami (SWE)
Upper Kuskokwim (USA)
Upper Tanana (CAN; USA)
West Greenlandic (GRL)
Yakut (RUS)

Arctic Circumpolar Map 1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140°E
50°N
120°E
100°E
80°E
60°E
Udege
Kili
Nanay
Sapporo
Ainu
JAPAN
Oroch
Negidal
Ulcha
Nivkh
Evenki
Orok
Sakhalin
Yakutsk
Yakut
Lena
Forest Enets
Dudinka
Dolgan
Tundra Enets
Nganasan
Tundra Nenets
Kara Sea
Barents Sea
Novaya Zemlya
Ter Saami
Kildin Saami
Akkala Saami
Skolt Saami
Inari Saami
North Saami
Lule Saami
Ume Saami
Pite Saami
FINLAND
SWEDEN
NORWAY
Sea of Okhotsk
RUSSIAN FEDERATION
Even
Arman
Magadan
Itelmen
Kolyma
Forest Yukagir
Tundra Yukagir
Laptev Sea
70°N
0°
Spitsbergen
160°E
Petropavloski Kamchatskiy
Palana
Copper Island Aleut
Aleut
Alutor
Koryak
East Siberian Sea
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ICELAND
REYKJAVÍK
20°W
Chukchi
Bering Sea
Kerek
Anadyr
Central Siberian Yupik
Old Sirenik
East Cape Yupik
Seward Peninsula Inupiaq
North Alaskan Inupiaq
180°
Greenland
North Greenlandic
Pituffik
East Greenlandic
ATLANTIC OCEAN
0
500 km
Central Alaskan Yupik
Aleutian Islands
Holikachuk
Koyukon
Gwich'in
Beaufort Sea
Ingalik
USA
Tanana
Upper Kuskokwim
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Han
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Pacific Gulf Yupik
Baffin Island
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West Greenlandic
Nuuk
Victoria Island
Labrador Sea
Qikiqtaaluk nigiani
Upper Tanana
Northern Tutchone
Southern Tutchone
Mackenzie
Inuinnaqtun
Natsilingmiutut
Iqaluit
Alaska
Eyak
Kaska
Tagish
Tlingit
North Slavey
Gulf of Alaska
CAN.
Tahltan
Tsetsaut
Nisga'a
Tsimshian
Northern Haida
Southern Haida
Haisla
Dogrib
CANADA
Aivilingmiutut
Nunatsiavummiutut
Rigolet Inuktitut
Nunavimmiutitut
Naskapi
South Slavey
Yellowknife
Kivallirmiutut
Hudson Bay
80°W
160°W
140°W
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)

Map 2 Southern Canada / United States / Northern Mexico

Arikara (USA) 🔴
Assiniboine (2) (CAN; USA) 🔴
Atikamekw (CAN) ⚪
Beaver (CAN) 🟡
Bella Coola (CAN) 🔴
Blackfoot (2) (CAN; USA) 🟡
Bungee (CAN) 🔴
Carrier (CAN) 🟠
Catawba (USA) ⚫
Cayuga (CAN) 🔴
Central Ojibwe (CAN) 🟡
Cherokee (USA) 🟠
Chihuahua Lower Pima (MEX) 🟡
Chilcotin (CAN) 🟡
Choctaw (2) (USA) ⚪
Columbian (USA) 🔴
Comox/Sliammon (CAN) 🔴
Dakota (CAN) 🟡
Dene (CAN) ⚪
Eastern Abenaki (USA) ⚫
Eastern Montagnais (CAN) ⚪
Eastern Ojibwe (CAN) 🟠
Gitksan (CAN) 🟠
Gros Ventre (USA) 🔴
Haisla (CAN) 🔴
Halkomelem (CAN; USA) 🟠
Heiltsuk (CAN) 🔴
Hidatsa (USA) 🟡
Huron-Wyandot (CAN) 🔴
Kalispel (USA) 🔴
Kickapoo (2) (MEX; USA) 🟠
Klallam (USA) 🔴
Kutenai (CAN; USA) 🟠
Kwak'wala (CAN; USA) 🔴
Lakota (CAN) 🔴
Lillooet (CAN) 🟠
Lushootseed (USA) 🔴
Makah (USA) 🔴
Malecite (CAN; USA) 🟡
Maliseet-Passamaquoddy (USA) 🟠
Mandan (USA) 🔴
Maniwaki Algonquin (CAN) 🟠
Mayo (MEX) 🔴
Menominee (USA) 🔴
Michif (CAN) 🔴
Micmac (2) (CAN; USA) ⚪
Mikasuki (USA) ⚪
Mohawk (5) (CAN; USA) 🟡
Montana Salish (USA) 🔴
Moose Cree (CAN) ⚪
Mountain Guarijío (MEX) ⚪
Munsee (2) (CAN; USA) 🔴
Naskapi (CAN) ⚪
Natchez (USA) ⚫
Nisga'a (CAN) 🟠
Nooksack (USA) ⚫
Nootka (CAN) 🟠
Northern Algonquin (CAN) ⚪
Northern East Cree (CAN) ⚪
Northern Straits Salish (USA) 🔴
Northern Tepehuán (MEX) 🟡
Northwestern Ojibwe (CAN) ⚪
Northwestern Tarahumara (MEX) ⚪
Nunatsiavummiutut (CAN) 🟡
Nunavimmiutitut (CAN) ⚪
Oji-Cree (CAN) ⚪
Okanagan (CAN; USA) 🟡
Oneida (3) (CAN; USA) 🔴
Onondaga (2) (CAN; USA) 🔴
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Paipai (MEX) 🟠
Pentlatch (CAN) ⚫
Plains Cree (CAN) ⚪
Potawatomi (3) (CAN; USA) 🔴
Quileute (USA) ⚫
Quinault (USA) ⚫
River Guarijío (MEX) ⚪
Sarcee (CAN) 🔴
Sauk-Fox (USA) 🔴
Saulteau (CAN) ⚪
Sechelt (CAN) 🔴
Sekani (CAN) 🔴
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Shuswap (CAN) 🟡
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Stoney (CAN) ⚪
Straits Salish (CAN; USA) 🟠
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Tunica (USA) ⚫
Tuscarora (2) (CAN; USA) 🔴
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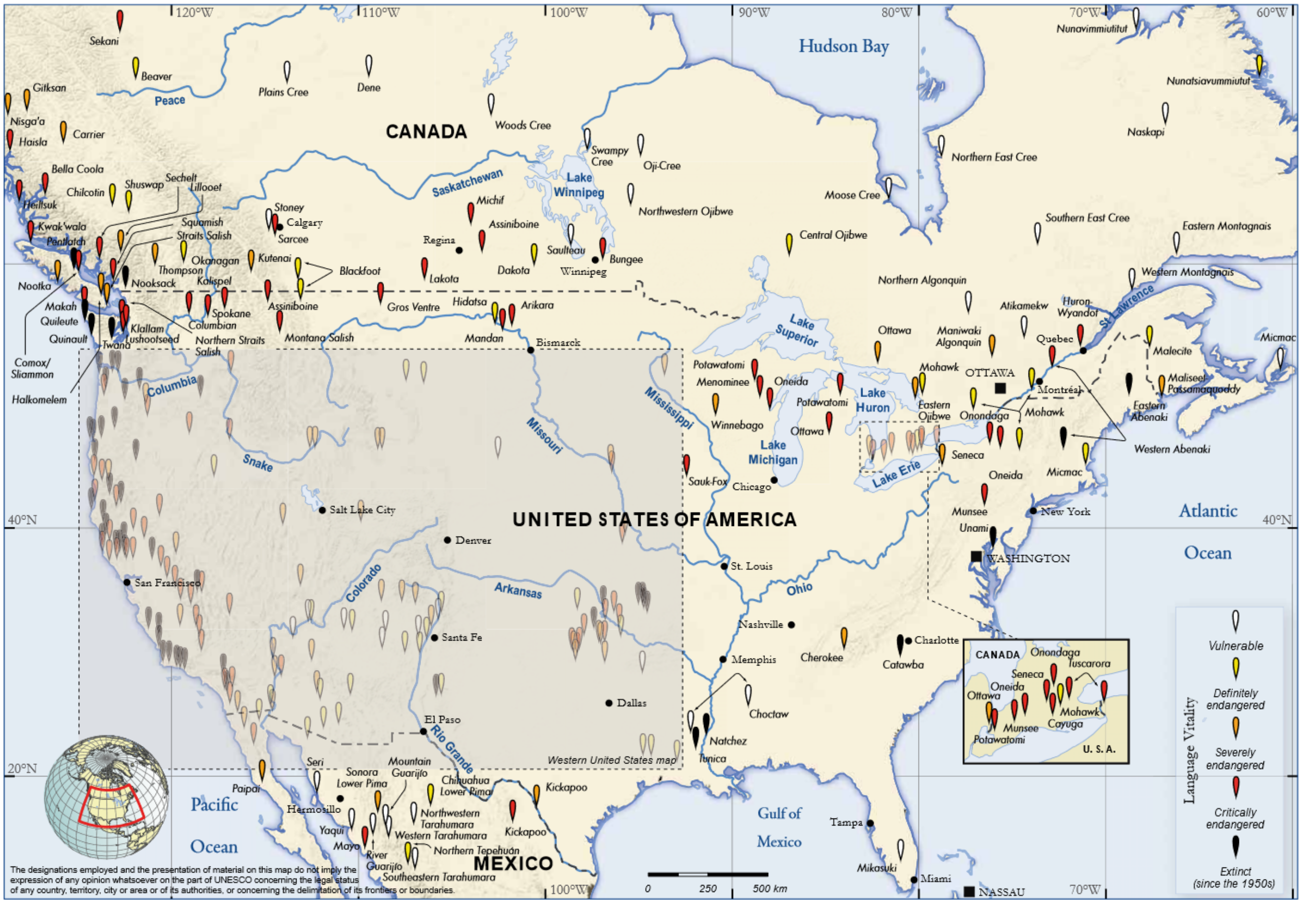
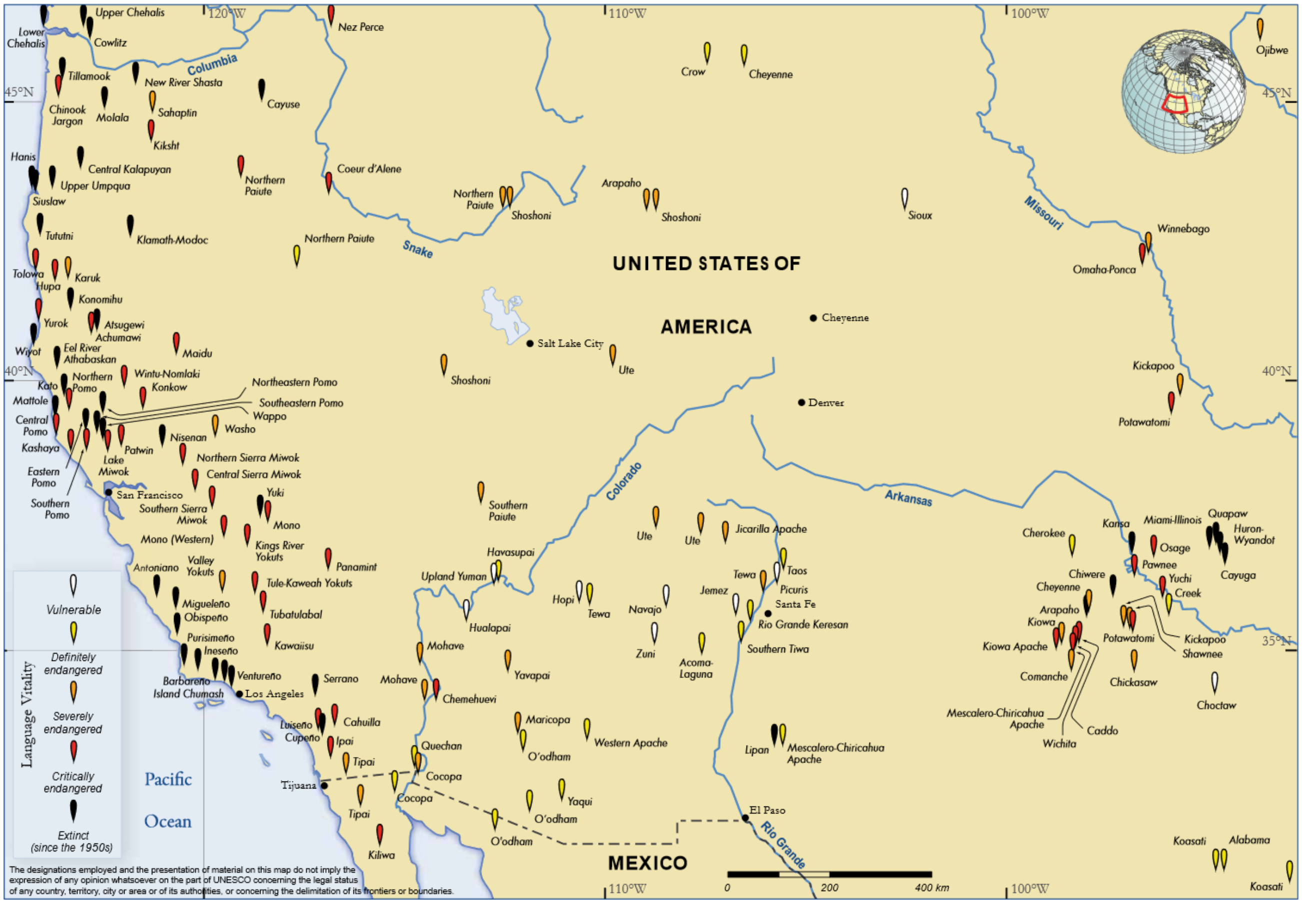
Unami (USA) ⚫
Western Abenaki (2) (CAN; USA) 🔴
Western Montagnais (CAN) ⚪
Western Tarahumara (MEX) ⚪
Winnebago (USA) 🟠
Woods Cree (CAN) ⚪
Yaqui (MEX) ⚪


CANADA
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
MEXICO
Hudson Bay
Atlantic Ocean
Pacific Ocean
Gulf of Mexico
OTTAWA
WASHINGTON
NASSAU
120°W
110°W
100°W
90°W
80°W
70°W
60°W
40°N
20°N
Sekani
Beaver
Gitksan
Nisga'a
Haisla
Carrier
Bella Coola
Chilcotin
Heiltsuk
Kwak'wala
Pentlatch
Nootka
Makah
Quileute
Quinault
Comox/ Sliamon
Halkomelem
Twana
Lushootseed
Klallam
Nooksack
Shuswap
Sechelt
Lillooet
Squamish
Straits Salish
Thompson
Okanogan
Kalispel
Spokane
Columbian
Northern Straits Salish
Kutenai
Montana Salish
Stoney
Sarcee
Blackfoot
Assiniboine
Gros Ventre
Plains Cree
Dene
Woods Cree
Swampy Cree
Oji-Cree
Michif
Lakota
Dakota
Saulteau
Bungee
Northwestern Ojibwe
Hidatsa
Arikara
Mandan
Moose Cree
Central Ojibwe
Northern East Cree
Southern East Cree
Naskapi
Nunavimmiutitut
Nunatsiavummiutut
Eastern Montagnais
Western Montagnais
Northern Algonquin
Atikamekw
Huron-Wyandot
Maniwaki Algonquin
Ottawa
Quebec
Malecite
Micmac
Maliseet-Passamaquoddy
Eastern Abenaki
Western Abenaki
Mohawk
Montréal
Eastern Ojibwe
Onondaga
Seneca
Oneida
Micmac
Munsee
Unami
New York
Potawatomi
Menominee
Oneida
Winnebago
Potawatomi
Ottawa
Sauk-Fox
Chicago
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Winnipeg
Saskatchewan
Peace
Columbia
Snake
Missouri
Mississippi
Colorado
Arkansas
Ohio
Rio Grande
St. Lawrence
Calgary
Regina
Winnipeg
Bismarck
Salt Lake City
Denver
San Francisco
Santa Fe
El Paso
Dallas
St. Louis
Nashville
Memphis
Charlotte
Cherokee
Catawba
Choctaw
Natchez
Tunica
Tampa
Miami
Mikasuki
Western United States map
Paipai
Seri
Sonora
Lower Pima
Mountain Guarijío
Chihuahua Lower Pima
Kickapoo
Hermosillo
Yaqui
Mayo
River Guarijío
Northwestern Tarahumara
Western Tarahumara
Northern Tepehuan
Kickapoo
Southeastern Tarahumara
CANADA
Onondaga
Tuscarora
Seneca
Oneida
Ottawa
Mohawk
Munsee
Cayuga
Potawatomi
U. S. A.
0
250
500 km
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

Map 3 Western United States

Achumawi (USA)
Acoma-Laguna (USA)
Alabama (USA)
Antoniano (USA)
Arapaho (2) (USA)
Atsugewi (USA)
Barbareño (USA)
Caddo (USA)
Cahuilla (USA)
Cayuga (USA)
Cayuse (USA)
Central Kalapuyan (USA)
Central Pomo (USA)
Central Sierra Miwok (USA)
Chemehuevi (USA)
Cherokee (USA)
Cheyenne (2) (USA)
Chickasaw (USA)
Chinook Jargon (USA)
Chiwere (USA)
Choctaw (USA)
Cocopa (2) (MEX; USA)
Coeur d'Alene (USA)
Comanche (USA)
Cowlitz (USA)
Creek (USA)
Crow (USA)
Cupeño (USA)
Eastern Pomo (USA)
Eel River Athabaskan (USA)
Hanis (USA)
Havasupai (USA)
Hopi (USA)
Hualapai (USA)
Hupa (USA)
Huron-Wyandot (USA)
Ineseño (USA)
Ipai (USA)
Island Chumash (USA)
Jemez (USA)
Jicarilla Apache (USA)
Kansa (USA)
Karuk (USA)
Kashaya (USA)
Kato (USA)
Kawaiisu (USA)
Kickapoo (2) (USA)
Kiksht (USA)
Kiliwa (MEX)
Kings River Yokuts (USA)
Kiowa (USA)
Kiowa Apache (USA)
Klamath-Modoc (USA)
Koasati (2) (USA)
Konkow (USA)
Konomihu (USA)
Lake Miwok (USA)
Lipan (USA)
Lower Chehalis (USA)
Luiseño (USA)
Maidu (USA)
Maricopa (USA)
Mattole (USA)
Mescalero-Chiricahua Apache (2) (USA)
Miami-Illinois (USA)
Migueleño (USA)
Mohave (2) (USA)
Molala (USA)
Mono (2) (USA)
Navajo (USA)
New River Shasta (USA)
Nez Perce (USA)
Nisenan (USA)
Northeastern Pomo (USA)
Northern Paiute (3) (USA)
Northern Pomo (USA)
Northern Sierra Miwok (USA)
O'odham (3) (MEX; USA)
Obispeño (USA)
Ojibwe (USA)
Omaha-Ponca (USA)
Osage (USA)
Panamint (USA)
Patwin (USA)
Pawnee (USA)
Picuris (USA)
Potawatomi (2) (USA)
Purisimeño (USA)
Quapaw (USA)
Quechan (USA)
Rio Grande Keresan (USA)
Sahaptin (USA)
Serrano (USA)
Shawnee (USA)
Shoshoni (3) (USA)
Sioux (USA)
Siuslaw (USA)
Southeastern Pomo (USA)
Southern Paiute (USA)
Southern Pomo (USA)
Southern Sierra Miwok (USA)
Southern Tiwa (USA)
Taos (USA)
Tewa (2) (USA)
Tillamook (USA)
Tipai (2) (MEX; USA)
Tolowa (USA)
Tubatulabal (USA)
Tule-Kaweah Yokuts (USA)
Tututni (USA)
Upland Yuman (USA)
Upper Chehalis (USA)
Upper Umpqua (USA)
Ute (3) (USA)
Valley Yokuts (USA)
Ventureño (USA)
Wappo (USA)
Washo (USA)
Western Apache (USA)
Wichita (USA)
Winnebago (USA)
Wintu-Nomlaki (USA)
Wiyot (USA)
Yaqui (USA)
Yavapai (USA)
Yuchi (USA)
Yuki (USA)
Yurok (USA)
Zuni (USA)

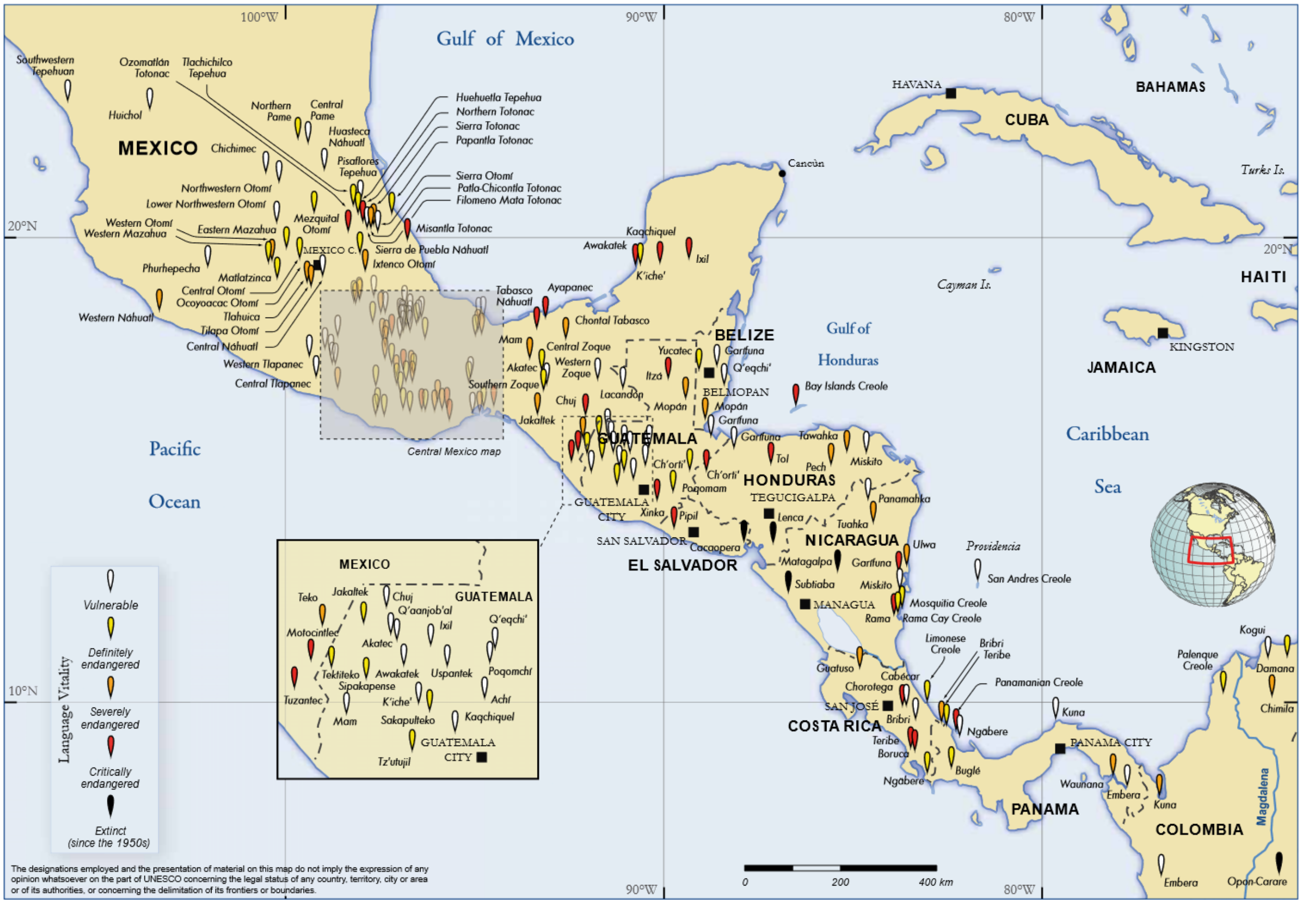


120°W
110°W
100°W
45°N
40°N
35°N
Upper Chehalis
Lower Chehalis
Cowlitz
Nez Perce
Columbia
Tillamook
New River Shasta
Chinook Jargon
Molala
Sahaptin
Cayuse
Kiksht
Hanis
Central Kalapuyan
Upper Umpqua
Siuslaw
Northern Paiute
Coeur d'Alene
Tututni
Klamath-Modoc
Northern Paiute
Snake
Tolowa
Hupa
Karuk
Konomihu
Yurok
Atsugewi
Achumawi
Wiyot
Eel River Athabaskan
Maidu
Kato
Northern Pomo
Wintu-Nomlaki
Konkow
Mattole
Northeastern Pomo
Southeastern Pomo
Wappo
Central Pomo
Washo
Kashaya
Nisenan
Patwin
Lake Miwok
Eastern Pomo
Northern Sierra Miwok
Central Sierra Miwok
San Francisco
Southern Pomo
Yuki
Southern Sierra Miwok
Mono
Mono (Western)
Kings River Yokuts
Antoniano
Valley Yokuts
Panamint
Tule-Kaweah Yokuts
Migueleño
Obispeño
Tubatulabal
Purisimeño
Ineseño
Kawaiisu
Barbareño
Island Chumash
Ventureño
Los Angeles
Serrano
Luiseño
Cupeño
Cahuilla
Ipai
Tipai
Tijuana
Tipai
Kiliwa
Pacific Ocean
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
Crow
Cheyenne
Northern Paiute
Shoshoni
Arapaho
Shoshoni
Sioux
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Salt Lake City
Cheyenne
Shoshoni
Ute
Denver
Colorado
Southern Paiute
Havasupai
Upland Yuman
Hualapai
Hopi
Tewa
Navajo
Zuni
Ute
Ute
Jicarilla Apache
Taos
Tewa
Jemez
Picuris
Santa Fe
Rio Grande Keresan
Southern Tiwa
Acoma-Laguna
Mohave
Mohave
Chemehuevi
Yavapai
Maricopa
O'odham
Western Apache
Quechan
Cocopa
Cocopa
O'odham
Yaqui
O'odham
Lipan
Mescalero-Chiricahua Apache
El Paso
Rio Grande
MEXICO
0
200
400 km
Ojibwe
Missouri
Winnebago
Omaha-Ponca
Kickapoo
Potawatomi
Arkansas
Cherokee
Kansa
Miami-Illinois
Quapaw
Huron-Wyandot
Osage
Pawnee
Cayuga
Chiwere
Cheyenne
Yuchi
Creek
Arapaho
Kiowa
Kiowa Apache
Potawatomi
Kickapoo
Shawnee
Comanche
Chickasaw
Choctaw
Mescalero-Chiricahua Apache
Caddo
Wichita
Koasati
Alabama
Koasati

The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

Map 4 Central America

Achi’ (GTM) ○
Akatek (2) (GTM; MEX) ○
Aruaco (COL) ○
Awakatek (2) (GTM; MEX) ○
Ayapanec (MEX) 🔴
Barí (COL) ○
Bay Islands Creole (HND) 🔴
Boruca (CRI) 🔴
Bribri (2) (CRI; PAN) ○
Buglé (PAN) 🟡
Cabécar (CRI) ○
Cacaopera (NIC) ●
Central Náhuatl (MEX) ○
Central Otomí (MEX) 🟡
Central Pame (MEX) ○
Central Zoque (MEX) 🟡
Ch’orti’ (2) (GTM; HND) 🟡
Chichimec (MEX) ○
Chimila (COL) 🟠
Chontal Tabasco (MEX) 🟠
Chorotega (CRI) 🔴
Chuj (2) (GTM; MEX) ○
Damana (COL) 🟡
Eastern Mazahua (MEX) 🟡
Embera (2) (COL; PAN) ○
Filomeno Mata Totonac (MEX) ○
Garífuna (4) (BLZ; GTM; HND; NIC) ○
Guatuso (CRI) 🟠
Huasteca Náhuatl (MEX) ○
Huehuetla Tepehua (MEX) 🟡
Huichol (MEX) ○
Itzá (GTM) 🔴
Ixil (2) (GTM; MEX) ○
Ixtenco Otomí (MEX) 🟠
Jakaltek (2) (GTM; MEX) 🟡
K’iche’ (2) (GTM; MEX) ○
Kaqchikel (2) (GTM; MEX) ○
Kogui (COL) ○
Kuna (2) (COL; PAN) ○
Lacandón (MEX) 🔴
Lenca (HND; SLV) ●
Limonese Creole (CRI) 🟡
Lower Northwestern Otomí (MEX) ○
Mam (2) (GTM; MEX) ○
Matagalpa (NIC) ●
Matlatzinca (MEX) 🟡
Mezquital Otomí (MEX) 🟡
Misantla Totonac (MEX) 🔴
Miskito (2) (HND; NIC) ○
Mopán (2) (BLZ; GTM) 🟠
Mosquitia Creole (NIC) 🟡
Motocintlec (MEX) 🔴
Ngäbere (2) (CRI; PAN) ○
Northern Pame (MEX) 🟡
Northern Totonac (MEX) 🔴
Northwestern Otomí (MEX) ○
Ocoyoacac Otomí (MEX) 🟠
Opon-Carare (COL) ●
Ozomatlán Totonac (MEX) 🔴
Palenque Creole (COL) 🟡
Panamahka (NIC) ○
Panamanian Creole (PAN) 🟡
Papantla Totonac (MEX) 🟡
Patla-Chicontla Totonac (MEX) 🟠
Pech (HND) 🟠
Phurhepecha (MEX) ○
Pipil (SLV) 🔴
Pisaflores Tepehua (MEX) ○
Poqomam (GTM) 🟡
Poqomchi’ (GTM) ○
Q’aanjob’al (GTM) ○
Q’eqchi’ (2) (BLZ; GTM) ○
Rama (NIC) 🔴
Rama Cay Creole (NIC) 🟡
Sakapultek (GTM) 🟡
San Andres Creole (COL) ○
Sierra de Puebla Náhuatl (MEX) 🟡
Sierra Otomí (MEX) ○
Sierra Totonac (MEX) 🟠
Sipakapense (GTM) 🟡
Southern Zoque (MEX) 🟡
Southwestern Tepehuan (MEX) ○
Southwestern Tlapanec (MEX) ○
Subtiaba (NIC) ●
Tabasco Náhuatl (MEX) 🔴
Tawahka (HND) 🟠
Teko (MEX) 🟠
Tektitek (GTM) 🟡
Teribe (2) (CRI; PAN) 🟡
Tilapa Otomí (MEX) 🟠
Tlachichilco Tepehua (MEX) 🟡
Tlahuica (MEX) 🟠
Tol (HND) 🔴
Tuahka (NIC) 🟠
Tuzantec (MEX) 🔴
Tz’utujil (GTM) 🟡
Ulwa (NIC) 🟠
Uspantek (GTM) ○
Waunana (PAN) 🟠
Western Mazahua (MEX) 🟡
Western Náhuatl (MEX) 🟠
Western Otomí (MEX) 🟠
Western Tlapanec (MEX) ○
Western Zoque (MEX) ○
Xinka (GTM) 🔴
Yucatec (BLZ) 🟡


Gulf of Mexico
100°W
90°W
80°W
20°N
10°N
MEXICO
Southwestern Tepehuan
Ozomatlán Totonac
Tlachichilco Tepehua
Huichol
Northern Pame
Central Pame
Huasteca Náhuatl
Chichimec
Pisaflores Tepehua
Huehuetla Tepehua
Northern Totonac
Sierra Totonac
Papantla Totonac
Sierra Otomí
Patla-Chicontla Totonac
Filomeno Mata Totonac
Northwestern Otomí
Lower Northwestern Otomí
Western Otomí
Western Mazahua
Eastern Mazahua
Mezquital Otomí
Misantla Totonac
MEXICO C.
Sierra de Puebla Náhuatl
Ixtenco Otomí
Purhepecha
Matlatzinca
Central Otomí
Ocoyoacac Otomí
Tlahuica
Tilapa Otomí
Central Náhuatl
Western Náhuatl
Western Tlapanec
Central Tlapanec
Central Mexico map
Pacific
Ocean
Tabasco Náhuatl
Ayapanec
Chontal Tabasco
Mam
Central Zoque
Akatec
Western Zoque
Southern Zoque
Chuj
Jakaltek
Lacandón
Itzá
Yucatec
Mopán
Kaqchiquel
Awakatek
K'iche'
Ixil
Cancún
HAVANA
CUBA
BAHAMAS
Turks Is.
HAITI
Cayman Is.
JAMAICA
KINGSTON
BELIZE
Garifuna
Q'eqchi'
BELMOPAN
Mopán
Garifuna
Gulf of
Honduras
Bay Islands Creole
GUATEMALA
Garifuna
Tawahka
Ch'orti'
Tol
Pech
Miskito
Ch'orti'
HONDURAS
TEGUCIGALPA
Poqomam
Panamahka
GUATEMALA CITY
Xinka
Pipil
Lenca
Tuahka
SAN SALVADOR
Cacaopera
NICARAGUA
Ulwa
EL SALVADOR
Matagalpa
Garifuna
Providencia
San Andres Creole
Subtiaba
Miskito
MANAGUA
Mosquitia Creole
Rama
Rama Cay Creole
Caribbean
Sea
Limonese Creole
Bribri
Teribe
Guatuso
Cabécar
Chorotega
Panamanian Creole
SAN JOSÉ
COSTA RICA
Bribri
Teribe
Boruca
Ngabere
Kuna
PANAMA CITY
Ngabere
Buglé
Wounana
Embera
Kuna
PANAMA
COLOMBIA
Magdalena
Kogui
Palenque Creole
Damana
Chimila
Embera
Opon-Carare
MEXICO
GUATEMALA
Teko
Jakaltek
Chuj
Q'anjob'al
Q'eqchi'
Ixil
Motocintlec
Akatec
Tektiteko
Awakatek
Uspantek
Poqomchi'
Sipakapense
Tuzantec
K'iche'
Achi
Mam
Sakapulteko
Kaqchiquel
GUATEMALA CITY
Tz'utujil
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
0
200
400 km
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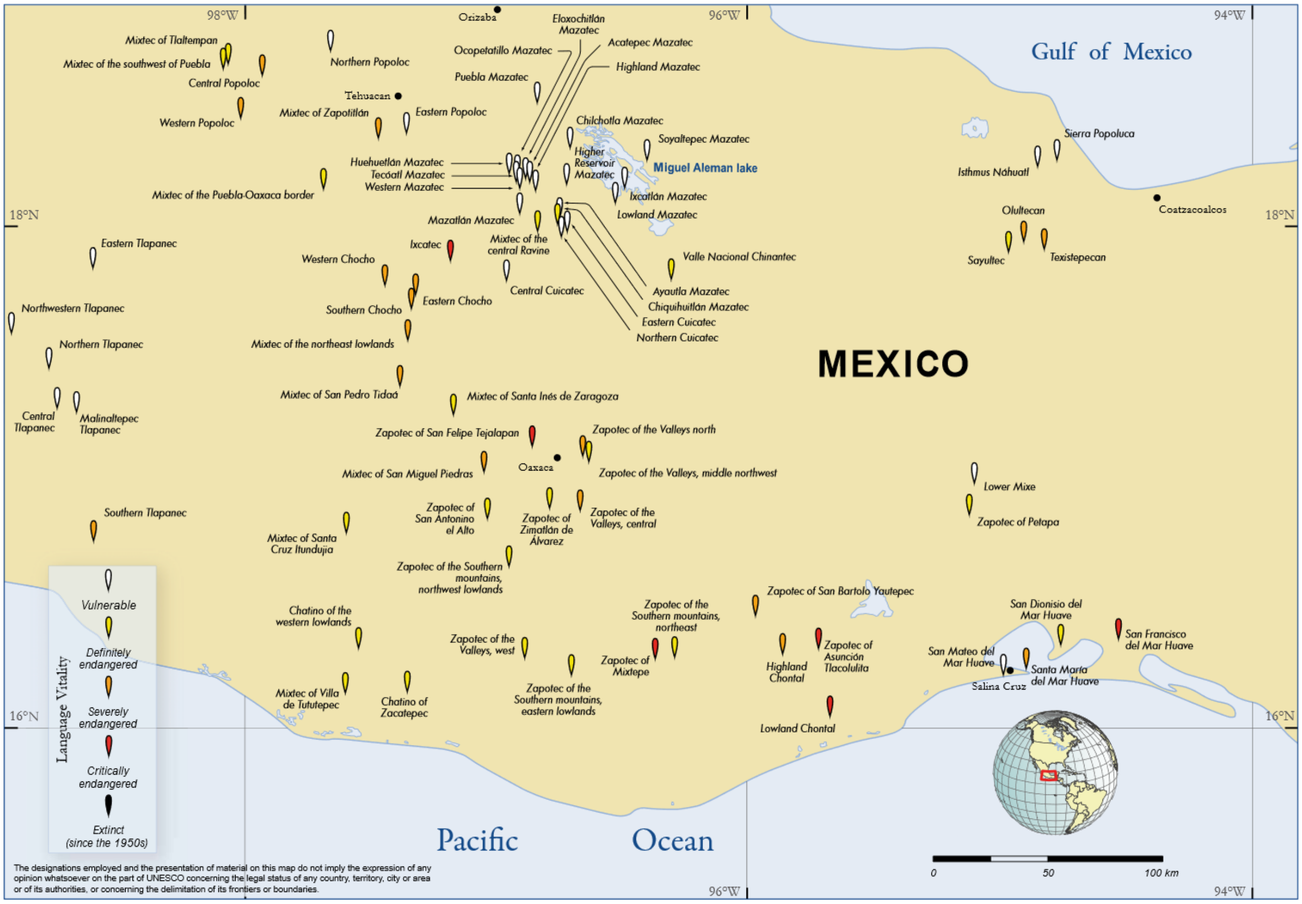
Map 5 Central Mexico

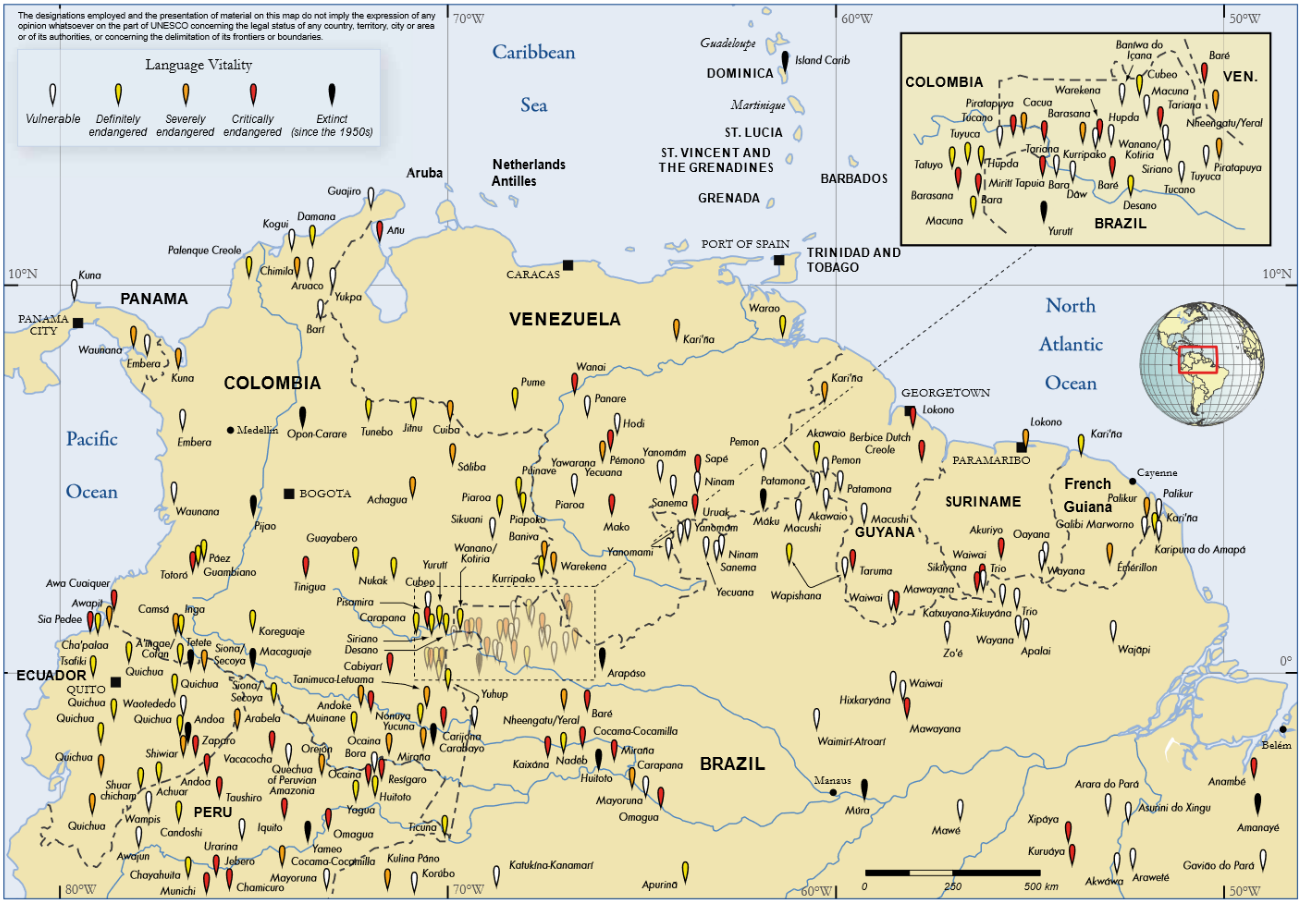
Acatepec Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
Ayautla Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
Central Cuicatec (MEX) ⚪
Central Popoloc (MEX) 🟠
Central Tlapanec (MEX) ⚪
Chatino of the western lowlands (MEX) 🟡
Chatino of Zacatepec (MEX) 🟡
Chilchotla Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
Chiquihuitlán Mazatec (MEX) 🟡
Eastern Chocho (MEX) 🟠
Eastern Cuicatec (MEX) ⚪
Eastern Popoloc (MEX) ⚪
Eastern Tlapanec (MEX) ⚪
Eloxochitlán Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
Higher Reservoir Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
Highland Chontal (MEX) 🟠
Highland Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
Huehuetlán Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
Isthmus Náhuatl (MEX) ⚪
Ixcatec (MEX) 🔴
Ixcatlán Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
Lower Mixe (MEX) ⚪
Lowland Chontal (MEX) 🔴
Lowland Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
Malinaltepec Tlapanec (MEX) ⚪
Mazatlán Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
Mixtec of San Miguel Piedras (MEX) 🟠
Mixtec of San Pedro Tidaá (MEX) 🟠
Mixtec of Santa Cruz Itundujia (MEX) 🟡
Mixtec of Santa Inés de Zaragoza (MEX) 🟡
Mixtec of the central Ravine (MEX) 🟡
Mixtec of the northeast lowlands (MEX) 🟠
Mixtec of the Puebla-Oaxaca border (MEX) 🟡
Mixtec of the southwest of Puebla (MEX) 🟡
Mixtec of Tlaltempan (MEX) 🟡
Mixtec of Villa de Tututepec (MEX) 🟡
Mixtec of Zapotitlán (MEX) 🟠
Northern Cuicatec (MEX) ⚪
Northern Popoloc (MEX) ⚪
Northern Tlapanec (MEX) ⚪
Northwestern Tlapanec (MEX) ⚪
Ocopetatillo Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
Olultecan (MEX) 🟠
Puebla Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
San Dionisio del Mar Huave (MEX) 🟡
San Francisco del Mar Huave (MEX) 🔴
San Mateo del Mar Huave (MEX) ⚪
Santa María del Mar Huave (MEX) 🟠
Sayultec (MEX) 🟡
Sierra Popoluca (MEX) ⚪
Southern Chocho (MEX) 🟠
Southern Tlapanec (MEX) 🟠
Soyaltepec Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
Tecóatl Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
Texistepecan (MEX) 🟠
Valle Nacional Chinantec (MEX) 🟡
Western Chocho (MEX) 🟠
Western Mazatec (MEX) ⚪
Western Popoloc (MEX) 🟠
Zapotec of Asunción Tlacolulita (MEX) 🔴
Zapotec of Mixtepe (MEX) 🔴
Zapotec of Petapa (MEX) 🟡
Zapotec of San Antonino el Alto (MEX) 🟡
Zapotec of San Bartolo Yautepec (MEX) 🟠
Zapotec of San Felipe Tejalapan (MEX) 🔴
Zapotec of the Southern mountains, eastern lowlands (MEX) 🟡
Zapotec of the Southern mountains, northeast (MEX) 🟡
Zapotec of the Southern mountains, northwest lowlands (MEX) 🟡
Zapotec of the Valleys north (MEX) 🟠
Zapotec of the Valleys, central (MEX) 🟠
Zapotec of the Valleys, middle northwest (MEX) 🟡
Zapotec of the Valleys, west (MEX) 🟡
Zapotec of Zimatlán de Álvarez (MEX) 🟡


98°W
Orizaba
Eloxochitlán Mazatec
96°W
94°W
Mixtec of Tlaltempan
Mixtec of the southwest of Puebla
Central Popoloc
Northern Popoloc
Ocopetatillo Mazatec
Acatepec Mazatec
Highland Mazatec
Puebla Mazatec
Gulf of Mexico
Tehuacan
Western Popoloc
Mixtec of Zapotitlán
Eastern Popoloc
Chilchotla Mazatec
Soyaltepec Mazatec
Sierra Popoluca
Higher Reservoir Mazatec
Miguel Aleman lake
Isthmus Náhuatl
Huehuetlán Mazatec
Tecóatl Mazatec
Western Mazatec
Mixtec of the Puebla-Oaxaca border
Ixcatlán Mazatec
Lowland Mazatec
Coatzacoalcos
Olultecan
18°N
Mazatlán Mazatec
Eastern Tlapanec
Ixcatec
Mixtec of the central Ravine
Valle Nacional Chinantec
Sayultec
Texistepecan
Western Chocho
Central Cuicatec
Ayautla Mazatec
Chiquihuitlán Mazatec
Eastern Chocho
Northwestern Tlapanec
Southern Chocho
Eastern Cuicatec
Northern Cuicatec
Northern Tlapanec
Mixtec of the northeast lowlands
MEXICO
Mixtec of San Pedro Tidaá
Mixtec of Santa Inés de Zaragoza
Central Tlapanec
Malinaltepec Tlapanec
Zapotec of San Felipe Tejalapan
Zapotec of the Valleys north
Oaxaca
Mixtec of San Miguel Piedras
Zapotec of the Valleys, middle northwest
Lower Mixe
Zapotec of Petapa
Zapotec of San Antonino el Alto
Zapotec of Zimatlán de Álvarez
Zapotec of the Valleys, central
Southern Tlapanec
Mixtec of Santa Cruz Itundujia
Zapotec of the Southern mountains, northwest lowlands
Zapotec of San Bartolo Yautepec
Chatino of the western lowlands
Zapotec of the Southern mountains, northeast
San Dionisio del Mar Huave
Zapotec of the Valleys, west
Zapotec of Mixtepe
Highland Chontal
Zapotec of Asunción Tlacolulita
San Mateo del Mar Huave
San Francisco del Mar Huave
Santa María del Mar Huave
Salina Cruz
Mixtec of Villa de Tututepec
Chatino of Zacatepec
Zapotec of the Southern mountains, eastern lowlands
Lowland Chontal
16°N
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
Pacific
Ocean
0
50
100 km
The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

Map 6

Northern South America

- **A'ingae / Cofan** (2) (COL; ECU) 🟡
- **Achagua** (COL) 🟠
- **Achuar** (ECU; PER) 🟡
- **Akawaio** (2) (BRA; GUY; VEN) ⚪
- **Akuriyo** (SUR) 🔴
- **Akwáwa** (BRA) ⚪
- **Amanayé** (BRA) ⚫
- **Anambé** (BRA) 🔴
- **Andoa** (2) (ECU; PER) 🔴
- **Andoke** (COL) 🟠
- **Añu** (VEN) 🔴
- **Apalai** (BRA) ⚪
- **Apurinã** (BRA) 🟡
- **Arabela** (PER) 🟠
- **Arapáso** (BRA) ⚫
- **Arara do Pará** (BRA) ⚪
- **Araweté** (BRA) ⚪
- **Aruaco** (COL) ⚪
- **Asurini do Xingu** (BRA) ⚪
- **Awa Cuaiquer** (COL) 🔴
- **Awajun** (PER) ⚪
- **Awapit** (ECU) 🟠
- **Baniva** (VEN) 🟠
- **Baníwa do Içana** (BRA; COL; VEN) ⚪
- **Bara** (2) (BRA; COL) ⚪
- **Barasana** (2) (BRA; COL) 🟠
- **Baré** (2) (BRA; VEN) 🔴
- **Barí** (COL) ⚪
- **Berbice Dutch Creole** (GUY) 🔴
- **Bora** (COL; PER) ⚪
- **Cabiyarí** (COL) 🔴
- **Cacua** (COL) 🟠
- **Camsá** (COL) 🟡
- **Candoshi** (PER) 🟡
- **Carabayo** (COL) ⚫
- **Carapana** (2) (BRA; COL) 🟡
- **Carijona** (COL) 🔴
- **Cha'palaa** (ECU) 🟡
- **Chamicuro** (PER) 🔴
- **Chayahuita** (PER) 🟡
- **Chimila** (COL) 🟠
- **Cocama-Cocamilla** (2) (BRA; PER) 🟠
- **Cubeo** (2) (BRA; COL) ⚪
- **Cuiba** (COL; VEN) 🟠
- **Damana** (COL) 🟡
- **Dâw** (BRA) ⚪
- **Desano** (2) (BRA; COL) 🟡
- **Embera** (2) (COL; PAN) ⚪
- **Émérillon** (GUF) 🟠
- **Galibi Marworno** (BRA) ⚪
- **Gavião do Pará** (BRA) ⚪
- **Guajiro** (COL; VEN) ⚪
- **Guambiano** (COL) 🟡
- **Guayabero** (COL) 🟡
- **Hixkaryána** (BRA) ⚪
- **Hodi** (VEN) ⚪
- **Huitoto** (2) (BRA; COL; PER) 🟡
- **Hupda** (2) (BRA; COL) ⚪
- **Inga** (COL) 🟠
- **Iquito** (PER) 🔴
- **Island Carib** (DMA) ⚫
- **Jebero** (PER) 🔴
- **Jitnu** (COL) 🟡
- **Kaixána** (BRA) 🔴
- **Kari'ña** (4) (BRA; GUF; GUY; SUR; VEN) 🟡
- **Karipuna do Amapá** (BRA) ⚪
- **Katukína-Kanamarí** (BRA) ⚪
- **Katxuyana-Xikuyána** (BRA) ⚪
- **Kogui** (COL) ⚪
- **Koreguaje** (COL) 🟡
- **Korúbo** (BRA) ⚪
- **Kulina Páno** (BRA) 🟠
- **Kuna** (2) (COL; PAN) ⚪
- **Kurripako** (2) (BRA; COL; VEN) ⚪
- **Kuruáya** (BRA) 🔴
- **Lokono** (2) (GUF; GUY; SUR; VEN) 🟠
- **Macaguaje** (COL) ⚫
- **Macuna** (2) (BRA; COL) ⚪
- **Macushi** (2) (BRA; GUY) ⚪
- **Mako** (VEN) 🔴
- **Máku** (BRA) ⚫
- **Mawayana** (2) (BRA; GUY; SUR) 🔴
- **Mawé** (BRA) ⚪
- **Mayoruna** (2) (BRA; PER) ⚪
- **Miraña** (2) (BRA; COL) 🟠
- **Mirití Tapuia** (BRA) 🔴
- **Muinane** (COL) 🟡
- **Munichi** (PER) 🔴
- **Múra** (BRA) ⚫
- **Nadëb** (BRA) 🟡
- **Nheengatu / Yeral** (2) (BRA; VEN) 🟠
- **Ninam** (2) (BRA; VEN) ⚪
- **Nonuya** (COL) 🔴
- **Nukak** (COL) 🟡
- **Ocaina** (2) (COL; PER) 🟠
- **Omagua** (2) (BRA; PER) 🔴
- **Opon-Carare** (COL) ⚫
- **Orejón** (PER) 🟠
- **Páez** (COL) 🟡
- **Palenque Creole** (COL) 🟡
- **Palikur** (2) (BRA; GUF) ⚪
- **Panare** (VEN) ⚪
- **Patamona** (2) (BRA; GUY) ⚪
- **Pemon** (2) (BRA; GUY; VEN) ⚪
- **Pémono** (VEN) 🔴
- **Piapoko** (COL; VEN) 🟡
- **Piaroa** (2) (COL; VEN) ⚪
- **Pijao** (COL) ⚫
- **Piratapuya** (2) (BRA; COL) 🟠
- **Pisamira** (COL) 🔴
- **Puinave** (COL; VEN) 🟡
- **Pume** (VEN) 🟡
- **Quechua of Peruvian Amazonia** (PER) ⚪
- **Quichua** (7) (ECU) 🟡
- **Resígaro** (PER) 🔴
- **Sáliba** (COL; VEN) 🟠
- **San Andres Creole** (COL) ⚪
- **Sanema** (2) (BRA; VEN) ⚪
- **Sapé** (VEN) 🔴
- **Shiwiar** (ECU) 🟠
- **Shuar chicham** (ECU) 🟡
- **Sia Pedee** (ECU) 🔴
- **Sikïiyana** (SUR) 🔴
- **Sikuani** (COL; VEN) ⚪
- **Siona / Secoya** (3) (COL; ECU; PER) 🟡
- **Siriano** (2) (BRA; COL) ⚪
- **Tanimuca-Letuama** (COL) 🟠
- **Tariana** (2) (BRA; COL) 🔴
- **Taruma** (GUY) 🔴
- **Tatuyo** (COL) 🟡
- **Taushiro** (PER) 🔴
- **Tetete** (ECU) ⚫
- **Ticuna** (BRA; COL; PER) 🟡
- **Tinigua** (COL) 🔴
- **Totoró** (COL) 🔴
- **Trio** (2) (BRA; SUR) ⚪
- **Tsafiki** (ECU) 🟡
- **Tucano** (2) (BRA; COL) ⚪
- **Tunebo** (COL; VEN) 🟡
- **Tuyuca** (2) (BRA; COL) ⚪
- **Urarina** (PER) ⚪
- **Uruak** (VEN) 🔴
- **Vacacocha** (PER) 🔴
- **Waimirí-Atroarí** (BRA) ⚪
- **Waiwai** (3) (BRA; GUY; SUR) ⚪
- **Wajãpi** (BRA) ⚪
- **Wampis** (PER) ⚪
- **Wanai** (VEN) 🔴
- **Wanano / Kotiria** (2) (BRA; COL) ⚪
- **Waotededo** (ECU) ⚪
- **Wapishana** (2) (BRA; GUY) ⚪
- **Warao** (GUY; VEN) 🟡
- **Warekena** (2) (BRA; VEN) 🟠
- **Waunana** (2) (COL; PAN) ⚪
- **Wayana** (2) (BRA; SUR) ⚪
- **Xipáya** (BRA) 🔴
- **Yagua** (PER) 🟡
- **Yameo** (PER) ⚫
- **Yanomám** (BRA) ⚪
- **Yanomami** (2) (BRA; VEN) ⚪
- **Yawarana** (VEN) 🟠
- **Yecuana** (2) (BRA; VEN) ⚪
- **Yucuna** (COL) 🟡
- **Yuhup** (2) (BRA; COL) ⚪
- **Yukpa** (VEN) ⚪
- **Yurutí** (2) (BRA; COL) 🟡
- **Zaparo** (ECU; PER) 🔴
- **Zo'é** (BRA) ⚪



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Language Vitality

Vulnerable

Definitely endangered

Severely endangered

Critically endangered

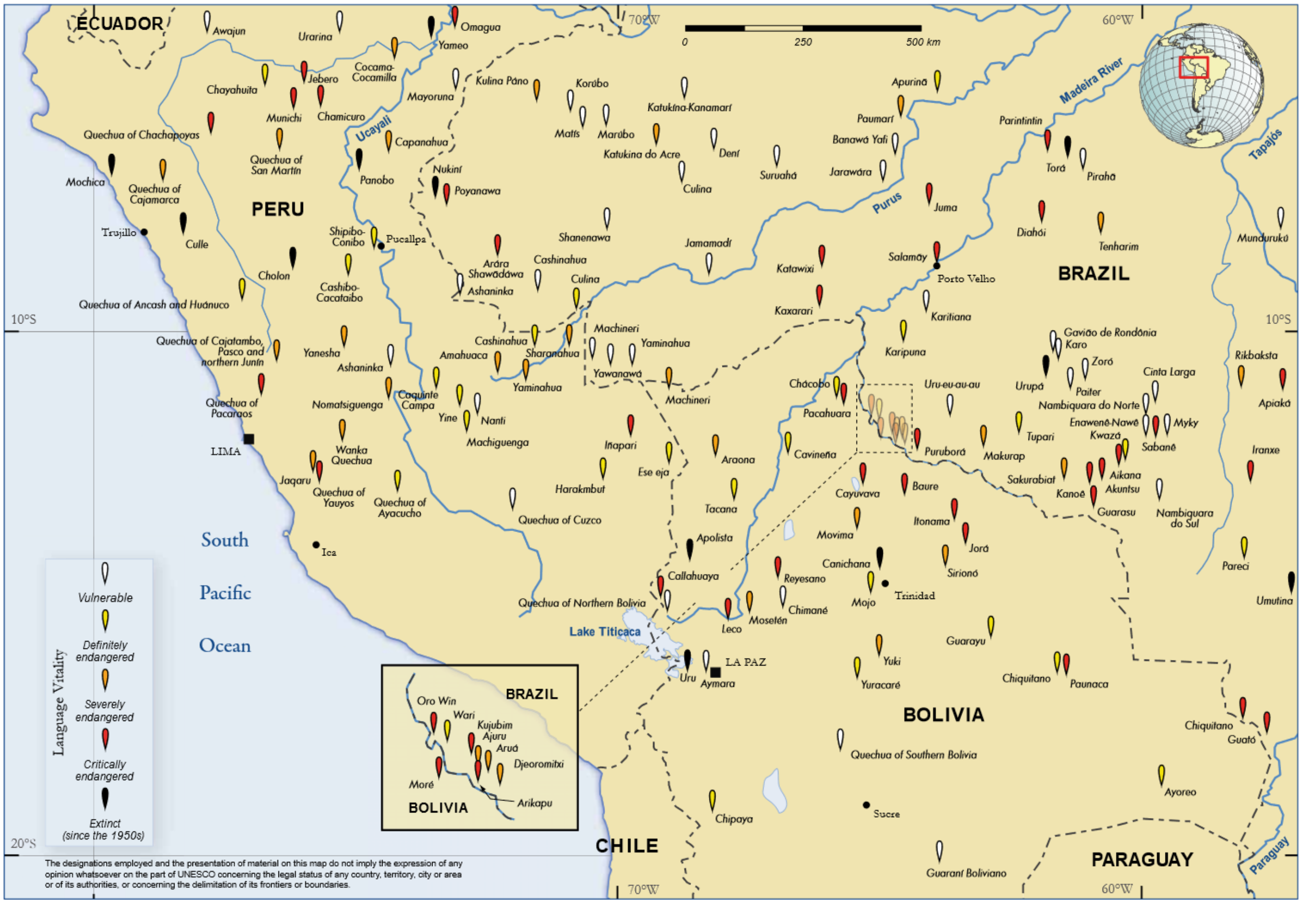
Extinct (since the 1950s)

70°W
60°W
50°W
80°W
10°N
0°
Caribbean Sea
Pacific Ocean
North Atlantic Ocean
Guadeloupe
Island Carib
DOMINICA
Martinique
ST. LUCIA
ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES
BARBADOS
GRENADA
Aruba
Netherlands Antilles
PORT OF SPAIN
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
CARACAS
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
PANAMA
PANAMA CITY
ECUADOR
QUITO
PERU
BRAZIL
GUYANA
SURINAME
French Guiana
GEORGETOWN
PARAMARIBO
Cayenne
BOGOTA
Medellín
Manaus
Belém
Guajiro
Kogui
Damana
Añu
Palenque Creole
Chimila
Aruaco
Yukpa
Barí
Kuna
Wounaan
Embera
Kuna
Warao
Kari'ña
Wanai
Pume
Panare
Hodi
Opon-Carare
Tunebo
Jitnu
Cuiba
Sáliba
Yawarana
Pémono
Yecuana
Puinave
Yanomám
Sapé
Ninam
Pemon
Akawaio
Berbice Dutch Creole
Lokono
Lokono
Kari'ña
Patamona
Pemon
Patamona
Akawaio
Macushi
Máku
Macushi
Uruak
Sanema
Yanomám
Ninam
Sanema
Yanomami
Yecuana
Wapishana
Taruma
Waiwai
Mawayana
Katxuyana-Xikuyána
Trio
Sikiyana
Waiwai
Akuriyo
Oayana
Trio
Wayana
Wayana
Apalai
Zo'é
Wajãpi
Palikur
Palikur
Kari'ña
Galibi Marworno
Karipuna do Amapá
Emérillon
Piaroa
Piaroa
Sikuani
Piapoko
Baniva
Mako
Wanano/ Kotiria
Warekena
Kurripako
Yurutí
Cubeo
Nukak
Guayabero
Tinigua
Achagua
Waunana
Pijao
Páez
Guambiano
Totoró
Awa Cuaiquer
Awapit
Sia Pedee
Camsá
Inga
Koreguaje
Cha'palaa
Tsafiki
A'ingae/ Cofán
Tetete
Siona/ Secoya
Macaguaje
Quichua
Quichua
Siona/ Secoya
Waotededo
Quichua
Andoa
Arabela
Quichua
Zaparo
Shiwiar
Vacacocha
Quichua
Shuar chicham
Achuar
Andoa
Taushiro
Quechua of Peruvian Amazonia
Quichua
Wampis
Candoshi
Iquito
Awajun
Urarina
Jebero
Chayahuita
Munichi
Chamicuro
Mayoruna
Yameo
Cocama-Cocamilla
Omagua
Yagua
Ticuna
Kulina Pano
Korúbo
Pisamira
Carapana
Siriano
Desano
Cabiyarí
Tanimuca-Letuama
Andoke
Muinane
Nonuya
Yucuna
Ocaina
Bora
Orejón
Ocaina
Resígaro
Huitoto
Miraña
Carijona
Carabayo
Yuhup
Arapáso
Nheengatu/Yeral
Baré
Cocama-Cocamilla
Miraña
Carapana
Kaixána
Nadeb
Huitoto
Mayoruna
Omagua
Katukina-Kanamarí
Apuriná
Múra
Hixkaryána
Waiwai
Mawayana
Waimirí-Atroarí
Mawé
Xipáya
Kuruáya
Arara do Pará
Asurini do Xingu
Akwáwa
Araweté
Anambé
Amanayé
Gavião do Pará
0
250
500 km
COLOMBIA
VEN.
BRAZIL
Baniwa do Içana
Baré
Cubeo
Warekena
Macuna
Tariana
Nheengatu/Yeral
Piratapuya
Cacua
Barasana
Hupda
Tucano
Tuyuca
Tariana
Wanano/ Kotiria
Kurripako
Hupda
Siriano
Piratapuya
Tuyuca
Tatuyo
Mirití Tapuia
Bara
Baré
Dâw
Tucano
Barasana
Bara
Desano
Macuna
Yurutí

Map 7

Western South America

Aikana (BRA) 🟡
Ajuru (BRA) 🟠
Akuntsu (BRA) 🔴
Amahuaca (PER) 🟠
Apiaká (BRA) 🔴
Apolista (BOL) ⚫
Apurinã (BRA) 🟡
Araona (BOL) 🟠
Arára Shawãdáwa (BRA) 🔴
Arikapu (BRA) 🔴
Aruá (BRA) 🟠
Ashaninka (2) (BRA; PER) ⚪
Awajun (PER) ⚪
Aymara (BOL; CHL; PER) ⚪
Ayoreo (BOL) 🟡
Banawá Yafi (BRA) ⚪
Baure (BOL) 🔴
Callahuaya (BOL) 🔴
Canichana (BOL) ⚫
Capanahua (PER) 🟠
Caquinte Campa (PER) 🟡
Cashibo-Cacataibo (PER) 🟡
Cashinahua (2) (BRA; PER) ⚪
Cavineña (BOL) 🟡
Cayuvava (BOL) 🔴
Chácobo (BOL) 🟡
Chamicuro (PER) 🔴
Chayahuita (PER) 🟡
Chimané (BOL) ⚪
Chipaya (BOL) 🟡
Chiquitano (2) (BOL; BRA) 🟡
Cholon (PER) ⚫
Cinta Larga (BRA) ⚪
Cocama-Cocamilla (PER) 🟠
Culina (2) (BRA; PER) ⚪
Culle (PER) ⚫
Dení (BRA) ⚪
Diahói (BRA) 🔴
Djeoromitxi (BRA) 🟠
Enawenê-Nawê (BRA) ⚪
Ese eja (BOL; PER) 🟡
Gavião de Rondônia (BRA) ⚪
Guaraní Boliviano (ARG; BOL) ⚪
Guarasu (BRA) 🔴
Guarayu (BOL) 🟡
Guató (BRA) 🔴
Harakmbut (PER) 🟡
Iñapari (PER) 🔴
Iranxe (BRA) 🔴
Itonama (BOL) 🔴
Jamamadí (BRA) ⚪
Jaqaru (PER) 🟠
Jarawára (BRA) ⚪
Jebero (PER) 🔴
Jorá (BOL) 🔴
Juma (BRA) 🔴
Kanoê (BRA) 🔴
Karipuna (BRA) 🟡
Karitiana (BRA) ⚪
Karo (BRA) ⚪
Katawixi (BRA) 🔴
Katukina do Acre (BRA) 🟠
Katukína-Kanamarí (BRA) ⚪
Kaxarari (BRA) 🔴
Korúbo (BRA) ⚪
Kujubim (BRA) 🔴
Kulina Páno (BRA) 🟠
Kwazá (BRA) 🔴
Leco (BOL) 🔴
Machiguenga (PER) 🟡
Machineri (2) (BOL; BRA) ⚪
Makurap (BRA) 🟠
Marúbo (BRA) ⚪
Matís (BRA) ⚪
Mayoruna (PER) ⚪
Mochica (PER) ⚫
Mojo (BOL) 🟡
Moré (BOL) 🔴
Mosetén (BOL) 🟠
Movima (BOL) 🟠
Mundurukú (BRA) ⚪
Munichi (PER) 🔴
Myky (BRA) ⚪
Nambiquara do Norte (BRA) ⚪
Nambiquara do Sul (BRA) ⚪
Nanti (PER) ⚪
Nomatsiguenga (PER) 🟠
Nukiní (BRA) ⚫
Omagua (PER) 🔴
Oro Win (BRA) 🔴
Pacahuara (BOL) 🔴
Paiter (BRA) ⚪
Panobo (PER) ⚫
Pareci (BRA) 🟡
Parintintin (BRA) 🔴
Paumarí (BRA) 🟠
Paunaca (BOL) 🔴
Pirahã (BRA) ⚪
Poyanawa (BRA) 🔴
Puruborá (BRA) 🔴
Quechua of Ancash and Huánuco (PER) 🟡
Quechua of Ayacucho (PER) 🟡
Quechua of Cajamarca (PER) 🟠
Quechua of Cajatambo, Pasco and northern Junín (PER) 🟠
Quechua of Chachapoyas (PER) 🔴
Quechua of Cuzco (PER) ⚪
Quechua of Northern Bolivia (BOL) ⚪
Quechua of Pacaraos (PER) 🔴
Quechua of San Martín (PER) 🟠
Quechua of Southern Bolivia (BOL) ⚪
Quechua of Yauyos (PER) 🔴
Reyesano (BOL) 🔴
Rikbaktsa (BRA) 🟠
Sabanê (BRA) 🔴
Sakurabiat (BRA) 🟠
Salamãy (BRA) 🔴
Shanenawa (BRA) ⚪
Sharanahua (PER) 🟠
Shipibo-Conibo (PER) 🟡
Sirionó (BOL) 🟠
Suruahá (BRA) ⚪
Tacana (BOL) 🟡
Tenharim (BRA) 🟠
Ticuna (BRA; COL; PER) 🟡
Torá (BRA) ⚫
Tupari (BRA) 🟡
Umutina (BRA) ⚫
Urarina (PER) ⚪
Uru (BOL) ⚫
Uru-eu-au-au (BRA) ⚪
Urupá (BRA) ⚫
Wanka Quechua (PER) 🟠
Wari (BRA) 🟡
Yameo (PER) ⚫
Yaminahua (2) (BOL; BRA; PER) ⚪
Yanesha (PER) 🟠
Yawanawá (BRA) ⚪
Yine (PER) 🟡
Yuki (BOL) 🟠
Yuracaré (BOL) 🟡
Zoró (BRA) ⚪


ECUADOR
PERU
BRAZIL
BOLIVIA
CHILE
PARAGUAY
South
Pacific
Ocean
70°W
60°W
10°S
20°S
0
250
500 km
Madeira River
Tapajós
Ucayali
Purus
Paraguay
Lake Titicaca
Trujillo
Pucallpa
LIMA
Ica
Porto Velho
Trinidad
LA PAZ
Sucre
Awajun
Urarina
Omagua
Yameo
Cocama-Cocamilla
Jebero
Chayahuita
Munichi
Chamicuro
Mayoruna
Kulina Pano
Korubo
Katukina-Kanamarí
Apurinã
Paumarí
Banawá Yafi
Parintintin
Quechua of Chachapoyas
Quechua of San Martín
Capanahua
Matís
Marúbo
Katukina do Acre
Dení
Suruahá
Jarawára
Torá
Pirahã
Mochica
Quechua of Cajamarca
Panobo
Nukiní
Poyanawa
Culina
Juma
Diahói
Tenharim
Mundurukú
Culle
Shipibo-Conibo
Shanenawa
Jamamadí
Salamãy
Cholon
Arára Shawãdawa
Cashinahua
Katawixí
Cashibo-Cacataibo
Ashaninka
Culina
Kaxararí
Quechua of Ancash and Huánuco
Karitiana
Quechua of Cajatambo, Pasco and northern Junín
Yanesha
Cashinahua
Amahuaca
Sharanahua
Machineri
Yaminahua
Gavião de Rondônia
Karo
Zoró
Rikbaktsa
Ashaninka
Yawanawá
Karipuna
Cinta Larga
Yaminahua
Chácobo
Uru-eu-au-au
Urupá
Paiter
Apiaká
Quechua of Pacaraos
Nomatsiguenga
Caquinte
Campa
Machineri
Pacahuara
Nambiquara do Norte
Yine
Nanti
Enawenê-Nawê
Myky
Machiguenga
Tupari
Kwazá
Sabanê
Wanka Quechua
Itapari
Araona
Cavineña
Puruborá
Makurap
Iranxe
Jaqaru
Ese eja
Sakurabiat
Aikana
Quechua of Yauyos
Quechua of Ayacucho
Harakmbut
Cayuvava
Baure
Kanoê
Akuntsu
Nambiquara do Sul
Tacana
Guarasu
Quechua of Cuzco
Itonama
Apolista
Movima
Jorá
Pareci
Canichana
Sirionó
Callahuaya
Reyesano
Mojo
Umutina
Quechua of Northern Bolivia
Chimané
Mosetén
Leco
Guarayu
Uru
Aymara
Yuki
Yuracaré
Chiquitano
Paunaca
Chiquitano
Guató
Quechua of Southern Bolivia
Ayoreo
Chipaya
Guaraní Boliviano
Oro Win
Wari
Kujubim
Ajuru
Aruá
Djeoromitxi
Moré
Arikapu
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)

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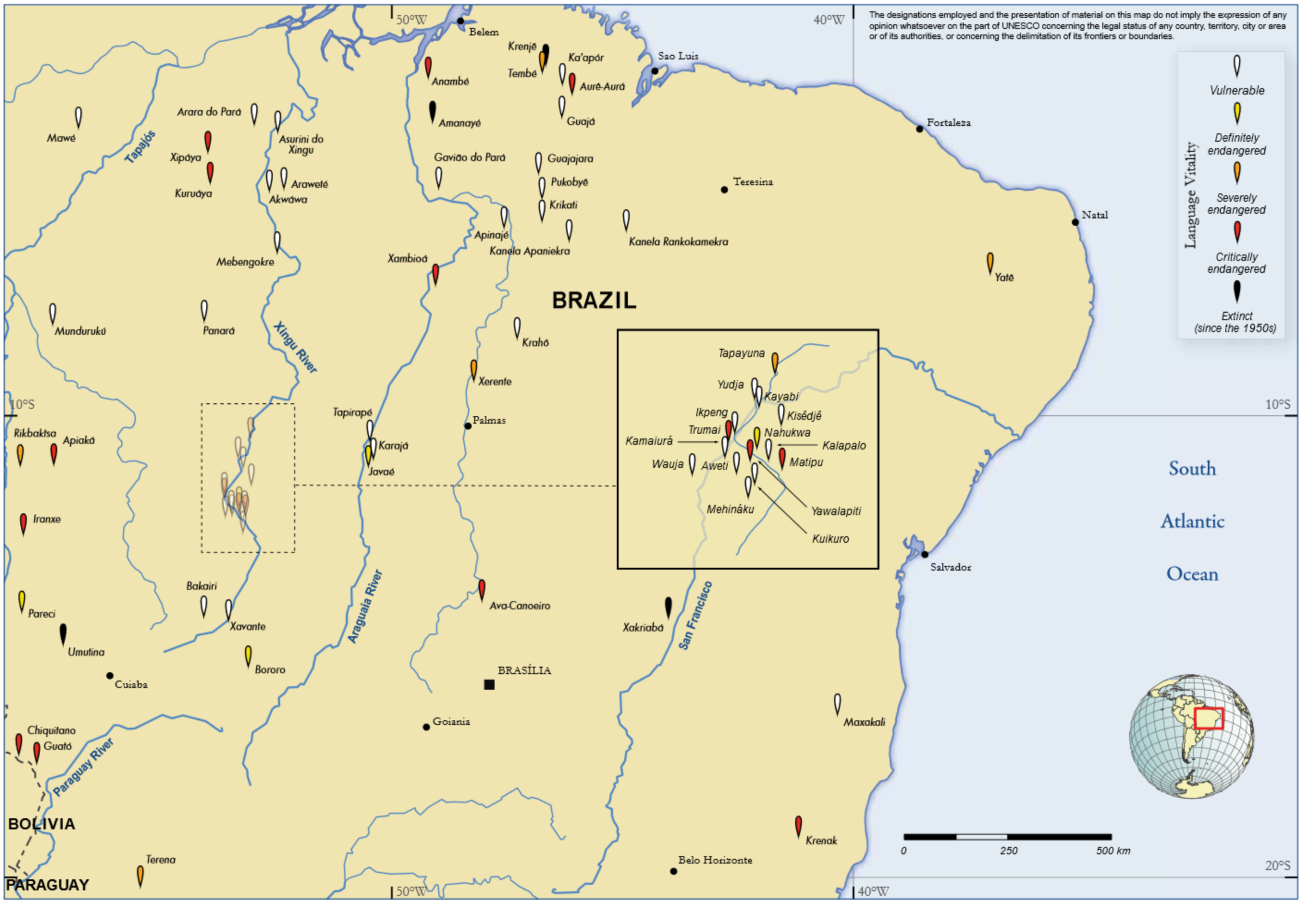
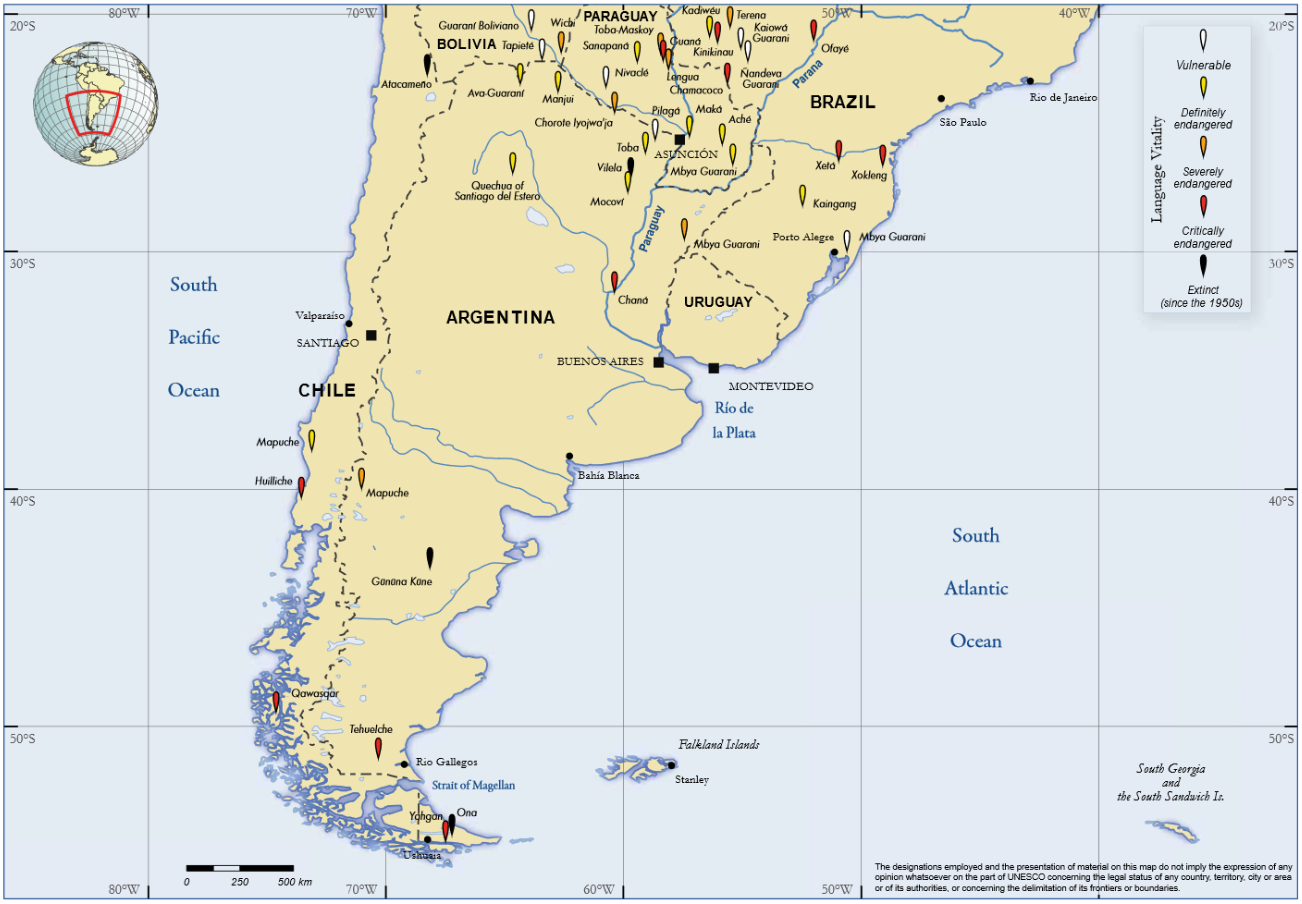
Map 8 Eastern South America

Akwáwa (BRA) ○
Amanayé (BRA) ●
Anambé (BRA) 🔴
Apiaká (BRA) 🔴
Apinajé (BRA) ○
Arara do Pará (BRA) ○
Araweté (BRA) ○
Asurini do Xingu (BRA) ○
Aurê-Aurá (BRA) 🔴
Ava-Canoeiro (BRA) 🔴
Aweti (BRA) ○
Bakairi (BRA) ○
Bororo (BRA) 🟡
Chiquitano (BRA) 🔴
Gavião do Pará (BRA) ○
Guajá (BRA) ○
Guajajara (BRA) ○
Guató (BRA) 🔴
Ikpeng (BRA) ○
Iranxe (BRA) 🔴
Javaé (BRA) 🟡
Ka'apór (BRA) ○
Kalapalo (BRA) ○
Kamaiurá (BRA) ○
Kanela Apaniekra (BRA) ○
Kanela Rankokamekra (BRA) ○
Karajá (BRA) ○
Kayabi (BRA) ○
Kisêdjê (BRA) ○
Krahô (BRA) ○
Krenak (BRA) 🔴
Krenjê (BRA) ●
Krikati (BRA) ○
Kuikuro (BRA) ○
Kuruáya (BRA) 🔴
Matipu (BRA) 🔴
Mawé (BRA) ○
Maxakali (BRA) ○
Mebengokre (BRA) ○
Mehináku (BRA) ○
Mundurukú (BRA) ○
Nahukwa (BRA) 🟡
Panará (BRA) ○
Pareci (BRA) 🟡
Pukobyê (BRA) ○
Rikbaktsa (BRA) 🟠
Tapayuna (BRA) 🟠
Tapirapé (BRA) ○
Tembé (BRA) 🟠
Terena (BRA) 🟠
Trumai (BRA) 🔴
Umutina (BRA) ●
Wauja (BRA) ○
Xakriabá (BRA) ●
Xambioá (BRA) 🔴
Xavante (BRA) ○
Xerente (BRA) 🟠
Xipáya (BRA) 🔴
Yatê (BRA) 🟠
Yawalapiti (BRA) 🔴
Yudja (BRA) ○


The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
50°W
40°W
10°S
20°S
BRAZIL
BOLIVIA
PARAGUAY
South Atlantic Ocean
Belem
Sao Luis
Fortaleza
Teresina
Natal
Palmas
Salvador
BRASÍLIA
Goiania
Cuiaba
Belo Horizonte
Tapajós
Xingu River
Araguaia River
San Francisco
Paraguay River
Krenjê
Ka'apór
Tembé
Aurê-Aurá
Anambé
Amanayé
Guajá
Mawé
Arara do Pará
Asurini do Xingu
Xipáya
Kuruáya
Araweté
Akwáwa
Gavião do Pará
Guajajara
Pukobyê
Krikati
Apinajé
Kanela Apaniekra
Kanela Rankokamekra
Mebengokre
Xambioá
Yatê
Munduruku
Panará
Krahô
Xerente
Tapirapé
Karajá
Javaé
Rikbaktsa
Apiaká
Iranxe
Pareci
Umutina
Bakairi
Xavante
Bororo
Ava-Canoeiro
Xakriabá
Maxakali
Chiquitano
Guató
Terena
Krenak
Tapayuna
Yudja
Kayabí
Ikpeng
Kisêdjê
Kamaiurá
Trumai
Nahukwa
Kalapalo
Wauja
Aweti
Matipu
Mehináku
Yawalapiti
Kuikuro
0
250
500 km

Map 9 Southern South America

Aché (PRY) 🟡
Atacameño (ARG; BOL; CHL) ⚫
Ava-Guaraní (ARG) 🟡
Chamacoco (BRA; PRY) 🔴
Chaná (ARG) 🔴
Chorote Iyojwa'ja (ARG; PRY) 🟠
Guaná (PRY) 🔴
Guaraní Boliviano (ARG; BOL) ⚪
Gününa Küne (ARG) ⚫
Huilliche (CHL) 🔴
Kadiwéu (BRA) 🟡
Kaingang (BRA) 🟡
Kaiowá Guarani (BRA) ⚪
Kinikinau (BRA) 🔴
Lengua (PRY) 🟠
Maká (PRY) 🟡
Manjui (ARG; BOL; PRY) 🟡
Mapuche (2) (ARG; CHL) 🟡
Mbya Guarani (3) (ARG; BRA; PRY; URY) ⚪
Mocoví (ARG) 🟡
Ñandeva Guarani (BRA) ⚪
Nivaclé (PRY) ⚪
Ofayé (BRA) 🔴
Ona (ARG) ⚫
Pilagá (ARG) ⚪
Qawasqar (CHL) 🔴
Quechua of Santiago del Estero (ARG) 🟡
Sanapaná (PRY) 🟡
Tapieté (ARG; BOL; PRY) 🟠
Tehuelche (ARG) 🔴
Terena (BRA) 🟠
Toba (ARG) 🟡
Toba-Maskoy (PRY) 🟠
Vilela (ARG) ⚫
Wichi (ARG; BOL) ⚪
Xetá (BRA) 🔴
Xokleng (BRA) 🔴
Yahgan (CHL) 🔴


80°W
70°W
60°W
50°W
40°W
20°S
30°S
40°S
50°S
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
PARAGUAY
BOLIVIA
BRAZIL
ARGENTINA
URUGUAY
CHILE
South Pacific Ocean
South Atlantic Ocean
Guaraní Boliviano
Wichí
Toba-Maskoy
Kadiwéu
Terena
Kaiowá Guarani
Ofayé
Tapieté
Sanapaná
Guaná
Kinikinau
Atacameño
Ava-Guaraní
Manjui
Nivaclé
Lengua
Chamacoco
Ñandeva Guarani
Parana
Pilagá
Maká
Aché
Chorote Iyojwa'ja
Toba
ASUNCIÓN
Vilela
Mbya Guarani
Xetá
Xokleng
São Paulo
Rio de Janeiro
Quechua of Santiago del Estero
Mocoví
Kaingang
Paraguay
Mbya Guarani
Porto Alegre
Mbya Guarani
Chaná
Valparaíso
SANTIAGO
BUENOS AIRES
MONTEVIDEO
Río de la Plata
Mapuche
Huilliche
Mapuche
Bahía Blanca
Gʉnʉna Kʉne
Qawasqar
Tehuelche
Rio Gallegos
Strait of Magellan
Yahgan
Ona
Ushuaia
Falkland Islands
Stanley
South Georgia and the South Sandwich Is.
0
250
500 km

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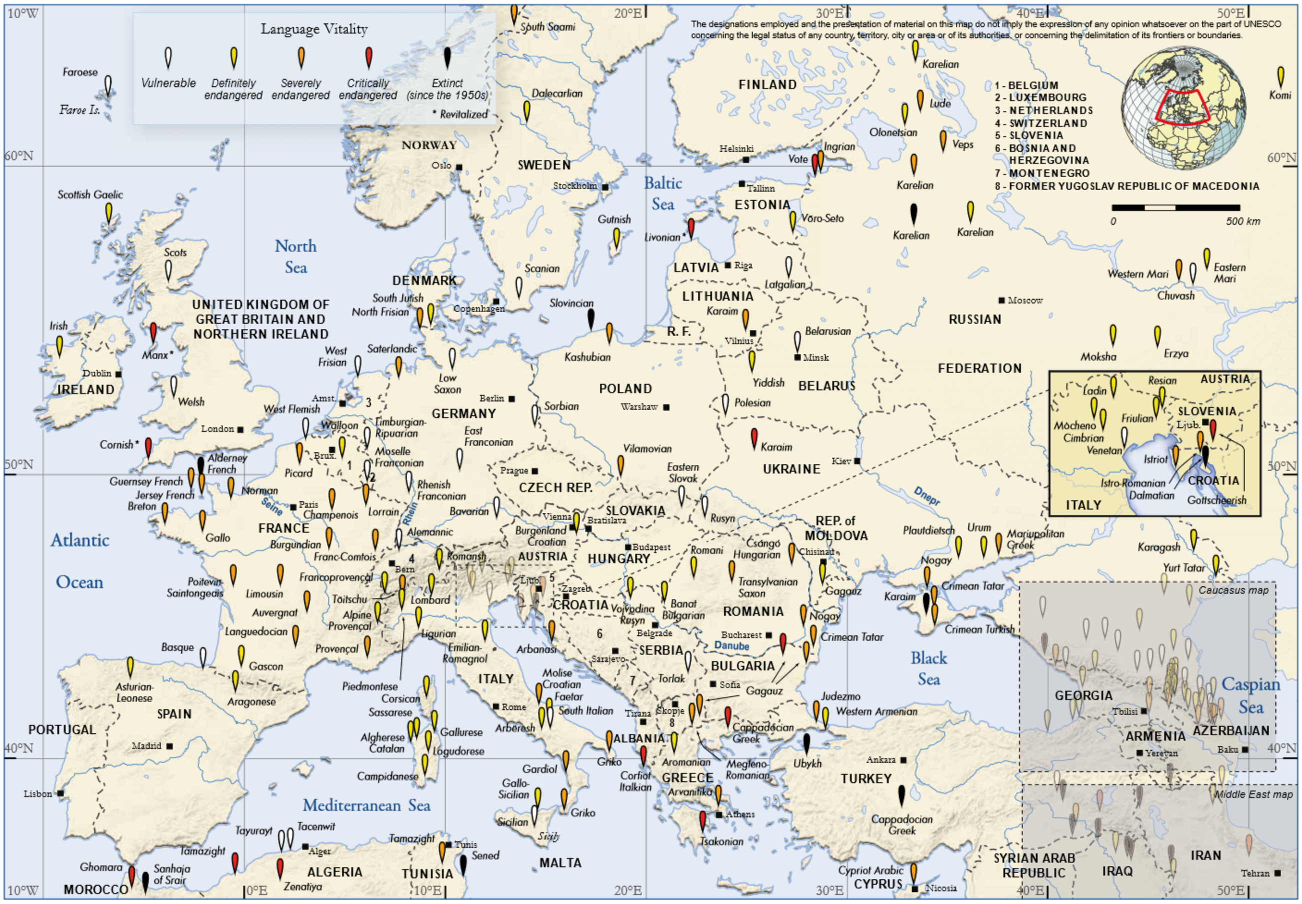
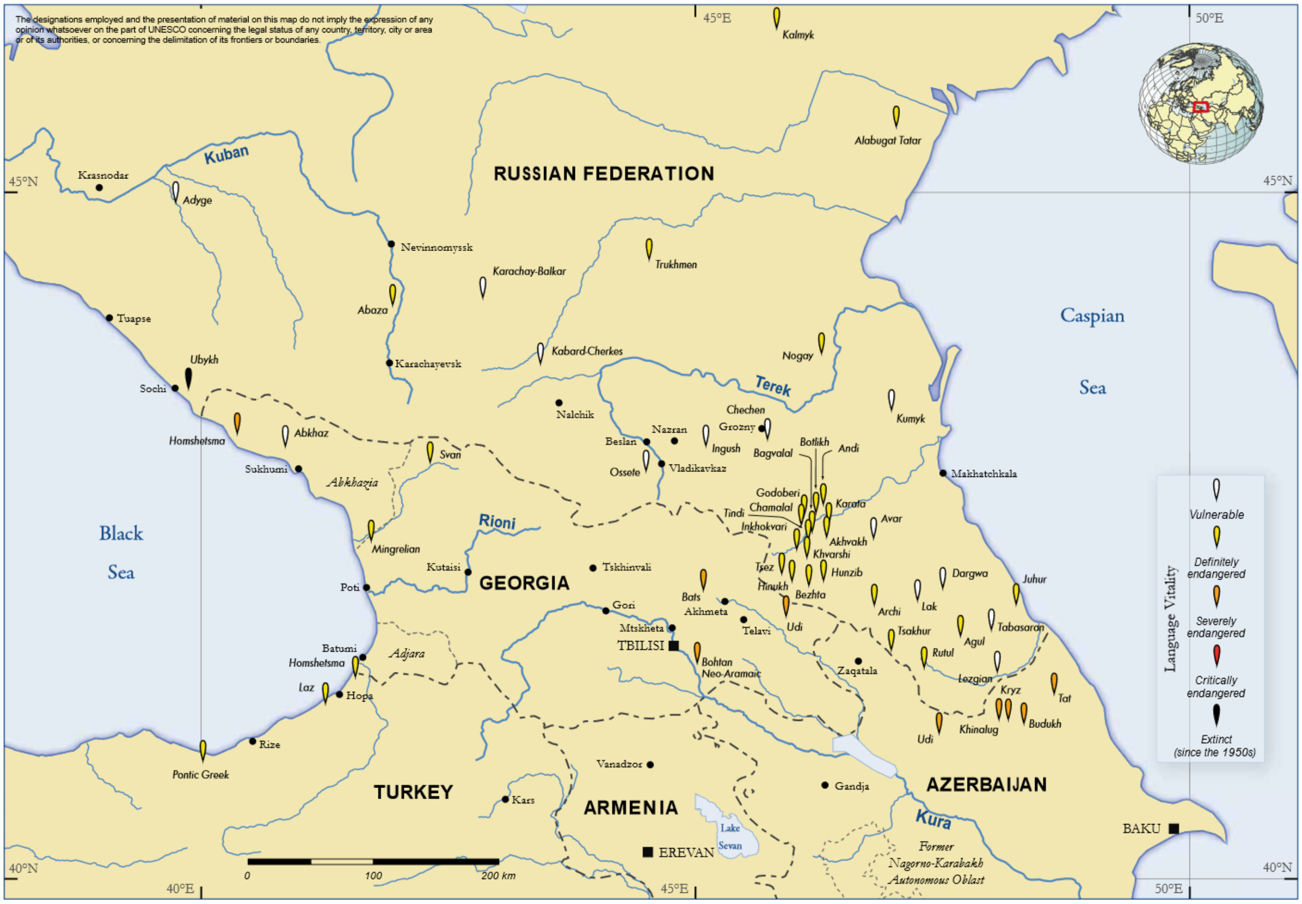
Map 10 Europe

Alderney French (GBR) ⬛
Alemannic (AUT; CHE; DEU; FRA; ITA; LIE) ⬜
Algherese Catalan (ITA) 🟨
Alpine Provençal (FRA; ITA) 🟨
Aragonese (ESP) 🟨
Arbanasi (HRV) 🟧
Arbëresh (ITA) 🟨
Aromanian (ALB; BGR; GRC; MKD; SRB) 🟨
Arvanitika (GRC) 🟧
Asturian-Leonese (ESP; PRT) 🟨
Auvergnat (FRA) 🟧
Banat Bulgarian (ROU; SRB) 🟨
Basque (ESP; FRA) ⬜
Bavarian (AUT; CHE; CZE; DEU; HUN; ITA) ⬜
Belarusian (BRB; LTU; LVA; POL; RUS; UKR) ⬜
Breton (FRA) 🟧
Burgenland Croatian (AUT; HUN; SVK) 🟨
Burgundian (FRA) 🟧
Campidanese (ITA) 🟨
Cappadocian Greek (GRC) 🟥
Champenois (BEL; FRA) 🟧
Chuvash (RUS) ⬜
Cimbrian (ITA) 🟨
Corfiot Italkian (GRC) 🟥
Cornish* (GBR) 🟥
Corsican (FRA; ITA) 🟨
Crimean Tatar (2) (BGR; ROU; UKR) 🟧
Crimean Turkish (UKR) 🟧
Csángó Hungarian (ROU) 🟧
Dalecarlian (SWE) 🟨
Dalmatian (HRV) ⬛
East Franconian (CZE; DEU) ⬜
Eastern Mari (RUS) 🟨
Eastern Slovak (SVK; UKR) ⬜
Emilian-Romagnol (ITA; SMR) 🟨
Erzya (RUS) 🟨
Faetar (ITA) 🟨
Faroese (FRO) ⬜
Franc-Comtois (CHE; FRA) 🟧
Francoprovençal (CHE; FRA; ITA) 🟨
Friulian (ITA) 🟨
Gagauz (4) (BGR; GRC; MDA; MKD; ROU; TUR; UKR) 🟨
Gallo (FRA) 🟧
Gallo-Sicilian (ITA) 🟨
Gallurese (ITA) 🟨
Gardiol (ITA) 🟧
Gascon (ESP; FRA) 🟨
Ghomara (MAR) 🟥
Gottscheerish (SVN) 🟥
Griko (2) (ITA) 🟧
Guernsey French (GBR) 🟧
Gutnish (SWE) 🟨
Ingrian (RUS) 🟧
Irish (GBR; IRL) 🟨
Istriot (HRV) 🟧
Istro-Romanian (HRV) 🟧
Jersey French (GBR) 🟧
Judezmo (ALB; BGR; BIH; DZA; GRC; HRV; MAR; MKD; ROU; SRB; TUR) 🟧
Karagash (RUS) 🟨
Karaim (3) (LTU; UKR) 🟧
Karelian (4) (FIN; RUS) 🟨
Kashubian (POL) 🟧
Komi (RUS) 🟨
Ladin (ITA) 🟨
Languedocian (FRA) 🟧
Latgalian (LVA; RUS) ⬜
Ligurian (FRA; ITA; MCO) 🟨
Limburgian-Ripuarian (BEL; DEU; NLD) ⬜
Limousin (FRA) 🟧
Livonian* (LVA) 🟥
Logudorese (ITA) 🟨
Lombard (CHE; ITA) 🟨
Lorrain (BEL; FRA) 🟧
Low Saxon (DEU; DNK; NLD; POL; RUS) ⬜
Lude (RUS) 🟧
Manx* (GBR) 🟥
Mariupolitan Greek (UKR) 🟧
Megleno-Romanian (GRC; MKD) 🟧
Mòcheno (ITA) 🟨
Moksha (RUS) 🟨
Molise Croatian (ITA) 🟧
Moselle Franconian (BEL; DEU; FRA; LUX) ⬜
Nogay (2) (ROU; UKR) 🟧
Norman (FRA) 🟧
North Frisian (DEU) 🟧
Olonetsian (FIN; RUS) 🟨
Picard (BEL; FRA) 🟧
Piedmontese (ITA) 🟨
Plautdietsch (UKR) 🟨
Poitevin-Saintongeais (FRA) 🟧
Polesian (BRB; POL; UKR) ⬜
Provençal (FRA) 🟧
Resian (ITA) 🟨
Rhenish Franconian (DEU; FRA) ⬜
Romani (ALB; AUT; BGR; BIH; BRB; CHE; CZE; DEU; EST; FIN; FRA; GBR; GRC; HRV; HUN; ITA; LTU; LVA; MKD; MNE; NLD; POL; ROU; RUS; SRB; SVK; SVN; TUR; UKR) 🟨
Romansh (CHE) 🟨
Rusyn (HUN; POL; ROU; SVK; UKR) ⬜
Sanhaja of Srair (MAR) ⬛
Sassarese (ITA) 🟨
Saterlandic (DEU) 🟧
Scanian (DNK; SWE) ⬜
Scots (GBR) ⬜
Scottish Gaelic (GBR) 🟨
Sened (TUN) ⬛
Sicilian (ITA) ⬜
Slovincian (POL) ⬛
Sorbian (DEU) 🟨
South Italian (ITA) ⬜
South Jutish (DEU; DNK) 🟨
South Saami (NOR; SWE) 🟧
Tacenwit (DZA) ⬜
Tamazight (2) (DZA; TUN) 🟧
Tayurayt (DZA) ⬜
Töitschu (ITA) 🟧
Torlak (ALB; BGR; MKD; ROU; SRB) ⬜
Transylvanian Saxon (ROU) 🟧
Tsakonian (GRC) 🟥
Ubykh (TUR) ⬛
Urum (GEO; RUS; UKR) 🟨
Venetan (HRV; ITA; SVN) ⬜
Veps (RUS) 🟧
Vilamovian (POL) 🟧
Vojvodina Rusyn (HRV; SRB) 🟨
Võro-Seto (EST; RUS) 🟨
Vote (RUS) 🟥
Walloon (BEL; FRA; LUX) 🟨
Welsh (GBR) ⬜
West Flemish (BEL; FRA; NLD) ⬜
West Frisian (NLD) ⬜
Western Armenian (TUR) 🟨
Western Mari (RUS) 🟧
Yiddish (AUT; BEL; BRB; CHE; CZE; DEU; DNK; EST; FIN; FRA; GBR; HUN; ITA; LTU; LUX; LVA; MDA; NLD; NOR; POL; ROU; RUS; SVK; SWE; UKR) 🟨
Yurt Tatar (RUS) 🟨
Zenatiya (DZA) 🟥


Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
* Revitalized
The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.
1 - BELGIUM
2 - LUXEMBOURG
3 - NETHERLANDS
4 - SWITZERLAND
5 - SLOVENIA
6 - BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
7 - MONTENEGRO
8 - FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA
0
500 km
10°W
20°E
30°E
40°E
50°E
60°N
50°N
40°N
0°E
10°E
Faroese
Faroe Is.
South Saami
Dalecarlian
NORWAY
Oslo
SWEDEN
Stockholm
FINLAND
Helsinki
Karelian
Lude
Olonetsian
Veps
Ingrian
Vote
Karelian
Komi
Scottish Gaelic
Scots
North Sea
Gutnish
Baltic Sea
Livonian*
Tallinn
ESTONIA
Võro-Seto
Karelian
Karelian
DENMARK
Scanian
LATVIA
Riga
Latgalian
Western Mari
Eastern Mari
Chuvash
Moscow
RUSSIAN FEDERATION
Irish
Manx*
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND
South Jutish
North Frisian
Copenhagen
Slovincian
LITHUANIA
Karaim
R. F.
Vilnius
Belarusian
Minsk
Moksha
Erzya
Dublin
IRELAND
Welsh
West Frisian
Saterlandic
Low Saxon
Kashubian
Berlin
POLAND
Warshaw
Yiddish
BELARUS
Polesian
London
Amst.
West Flemish
3
Walloon
Limburgian-Ripuarian
GERMANY
Sorbian
East Franconian
Cornish*
Alderney French
Brux.
1
2
Moselle Franconian
Vilamovian
Karaim
UKRAINE
Kiev
Dnepr
Guernsey French
Jersey French
Breton
Picard
Norman
Prague
CZECH REP.
Eastern Slovak
Paris
Seine
Champenois
Lorrain
Rhein
Rhenish Franconian
Bavarian
SLOVAKIA
Vienna
Bratislava
Rusyn
REP. of MOLDOVA
Chisinau
Plautdietsch
Urum
Mariupolitan Greek
Karagash
Yurt Tatar
Atlantic Ocean
Gallo
FRANCE
Burgundian
Franc-Comtois
Alemannic
Burgenland Croatian
AUSTRIA
Budapest
HUNGARY
Romani
Csángó Hungarian
Nogay
Poitevin-Saintongeais
Limousin
Francoprovençal
Bern
4
Romansh
Ljub.
5
Zagreb
CROATIA
Transylvanian Saxon
Gagauz
Karaim
Crimean Tatar
Crimean Turkish
Auvergnat
Toitschu
Alpine Provençal
Lombard
Vojvodina Rusyn
Banat Bulgarian
ROMANIA
Nogay
Crimean Tatar
Basque
Languedocian
Provençal
Ligurian
Emilian-Romagnol
6
Belgrade
Bucharest
Danube
Arbanasi
Sarajevo
SERBIA
Black Sea
Gascon
Asturian-Leonese
Aragonese
SPAIN
Piedmontese
Corsican
Sassarese
ITALY
Molise Croatian
Faetar
7
Torlak
Sofia
BULGARIA
Gagauz
Judezmo
Western Armenian
GEORGIA
Tbilisi
Caspian Sea
PORTUGAL
Madrid
Algherese Catalan
Gallurese
Logudorese
Rome
South Italian
Arberesh
Tirana
Skopje
8
ALBANIA
Cappadocian Greek
ARMENIA
Yerevan
AZERBAIJAN
Baku
Gardiol
Griko
Corfiot Italkian
Aromanian
Megleno-Romanian
GREECE
Ubykh
Ankara
TURKEY
Lisbon
Campidanese
Gallo-Sicilian
Mediterranean Sea
Arvanitika
Athens
Tsakonian
Cappadocian Greek
Middle East map
Caucasus map
Sicilian
Griko
Sicily
Tacenwit
Tayurayt
Alger
Tamazight
Tamazight
Tunis
Sened
MALTA
Ghomara
Sanhaja of Srair
ALGERIA
Zenatiya
TUNISIA
MOROCCO
Cypriot Arabic
CYPRUS
Nicosia
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC
IRAQ
IRAN
Tehran
AUSTRIA
Ladin
Resian
SLOVENIA
Mòcheno
Cimbrian
Friulian
Ljub.
Venetan
Istriot
Istro-Romanian
Dalmatian
CROATIA
ITALY
Gottscheerish

Map 11 Caucasus

Abaza (RUS; TUR) 🟡
Abkhaz (GEO; RUS; TUR) ○
Adyge (IRQ; ISR; JOR; MKD; RUS; SYR; TUR) ○
Agul (RUS) 🟡
Akhvakh (RUS) 🟡
Alabugat Tatar (RUS) 🟡
Andi (RUS) 🟡
Archi (RUS) 🟡
Avar (RUS) ○
Bagvalal (RUS) 🟡
Bats (GEO) 🟠
Bezhta (RUS) 🟡
Bohtan Neo-Aramaic (GEO; RUS) 🟠
Botlikh (RUS) 🟡
Budukh (AZE) 🟠
Chamalal (RUS) 🟡
Chechen (RUS) ○
Dargwa (RUS) ○
Godoberi (RUS) 🟡
Hinukh (RUS) 🟡
Homshetsma (2) (GEO; RUS; TUR) 🟡
Hunzib (RUS) 🟡
Ingush (RUS) ○
Inkhokvari (RUS) 🟡
Juhur (AZE; RUS) 🟡
Kabard-Cherkes (RUS; TUR) ○
Kalmyk (RUS) 🟡
Karachay-Balkar (RUS) ○
Karata (RUS) 🟡
Khinalug (AZE) 🟠
Khvarshi (RUS) 🟡
Kryz (AZE) 🟠
Kumyk (RUS) ○
Lak (RUS) ○
Laz (GEO; TUR) 🟡
Lezgian (AZE; RUS) ○
Mingrelian (GEO) 🟡
Nogay (RUS) 🟡
Ossete (GEO; RUS) ○
Pontic Greek (ARM; GEO; GRC; RUS; TUR; UKR) 🟡
Rutul (AZE; RUS) 🟡
Svan (GEO) 🟡
Tabasaran (RUS) ○
Tat (AZE) 🟠
Tindi (RUS) 🟡
Trukhmen (RUS) 🟡
Tsakhur (AZE; RUS) 🟡
Tsez (RUS) 🟡
Ubykh (RUS) ●
Udi (2) (AZE; GEO) 🟠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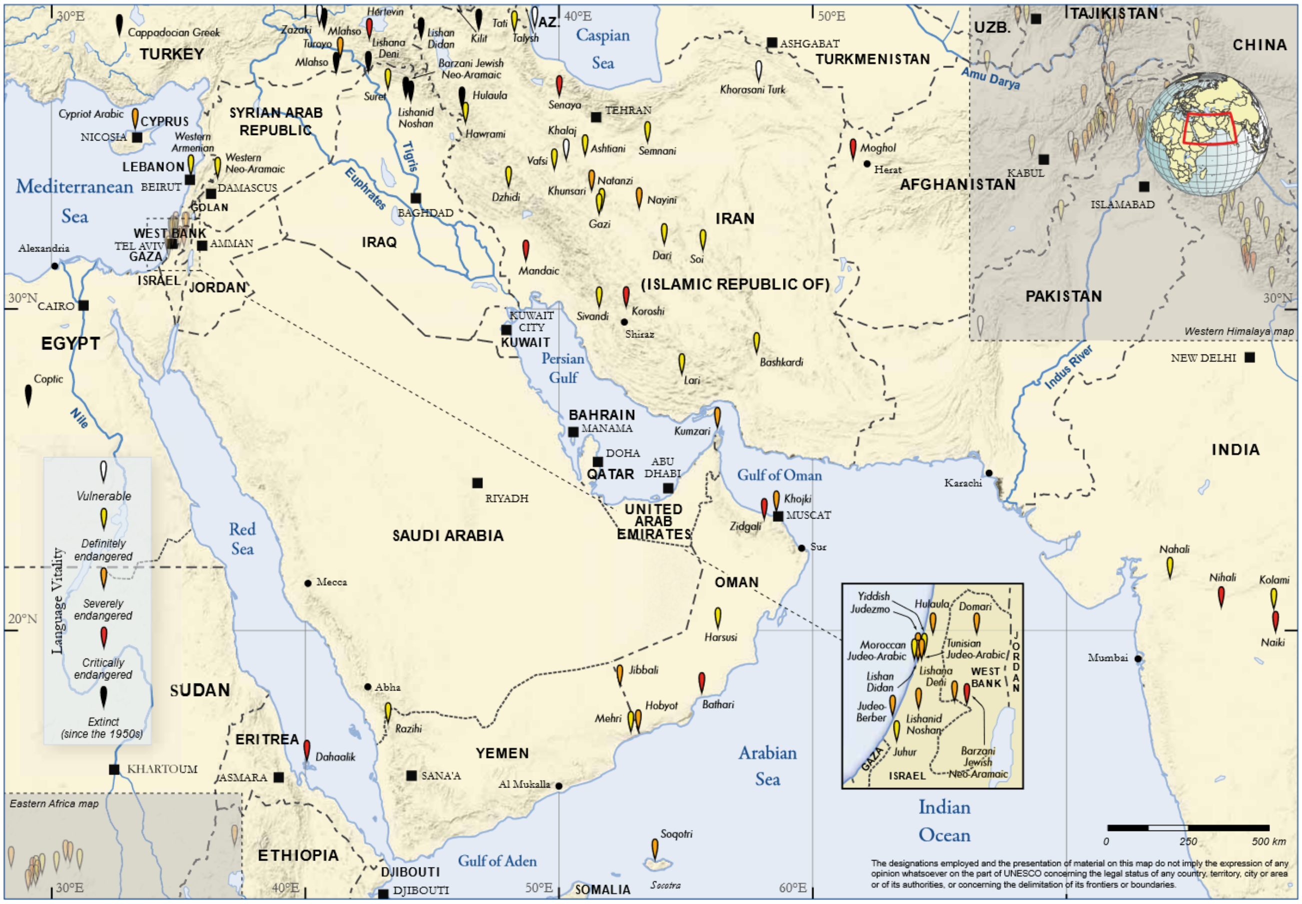
RUSSIAN FEDERATION
GEORGIA
TURKEY
ARMENIA
AZERBAIJAN
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Kuban
Terek
Rioni
Kura
Lake Sevan
Kalmyk
Alabugat Tatar
Adyge
Trukhmen
Karachay-Balkar
Abaza
Kabard-Cherkes
Nogay
Ubykh
Homshetsma
Abkhaz
Svan
Mingrelian
Laz
Pontic Greek
Chechen
Ingush
Ossete
Bagvalal
Botlikh
Andi
Kumyk
Godoberi
Chamalal
Tindi
Inkhokvari
Karata
Avar
Akhvakh
Khvarshi
Tsez
Hinukh
Bezhta
Hunzib
Bats
Udi
Archi
Lak
Dargwa
Juhur
Tsakhur
Agul
Tabasaran
Rutul
Lezgian
Kryz
Tat
Khinalug
Budukh
Bohtan Neo-Aramaic
Krasnodar
Nevinnomyssk
Tuapse
Karachayevsk
Sochi
Nalchik
Beslan
Nazran
Vladikavkaz
Grozny
Makhatchkala
Sukhumi
Abkhazia
Kutaisi
Tskhinvali
Poti
Gori
Akhmeta
Telavi
Mtskheta
TBILISI
Batumi
Adjara
Hopa
Rize
Zaqatala
Vanadzor
Kars
Gandja
EREVAN
BAKU
Former Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast
45°E
50°E
40°E
45°N
40°N
0 100 200 km
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)

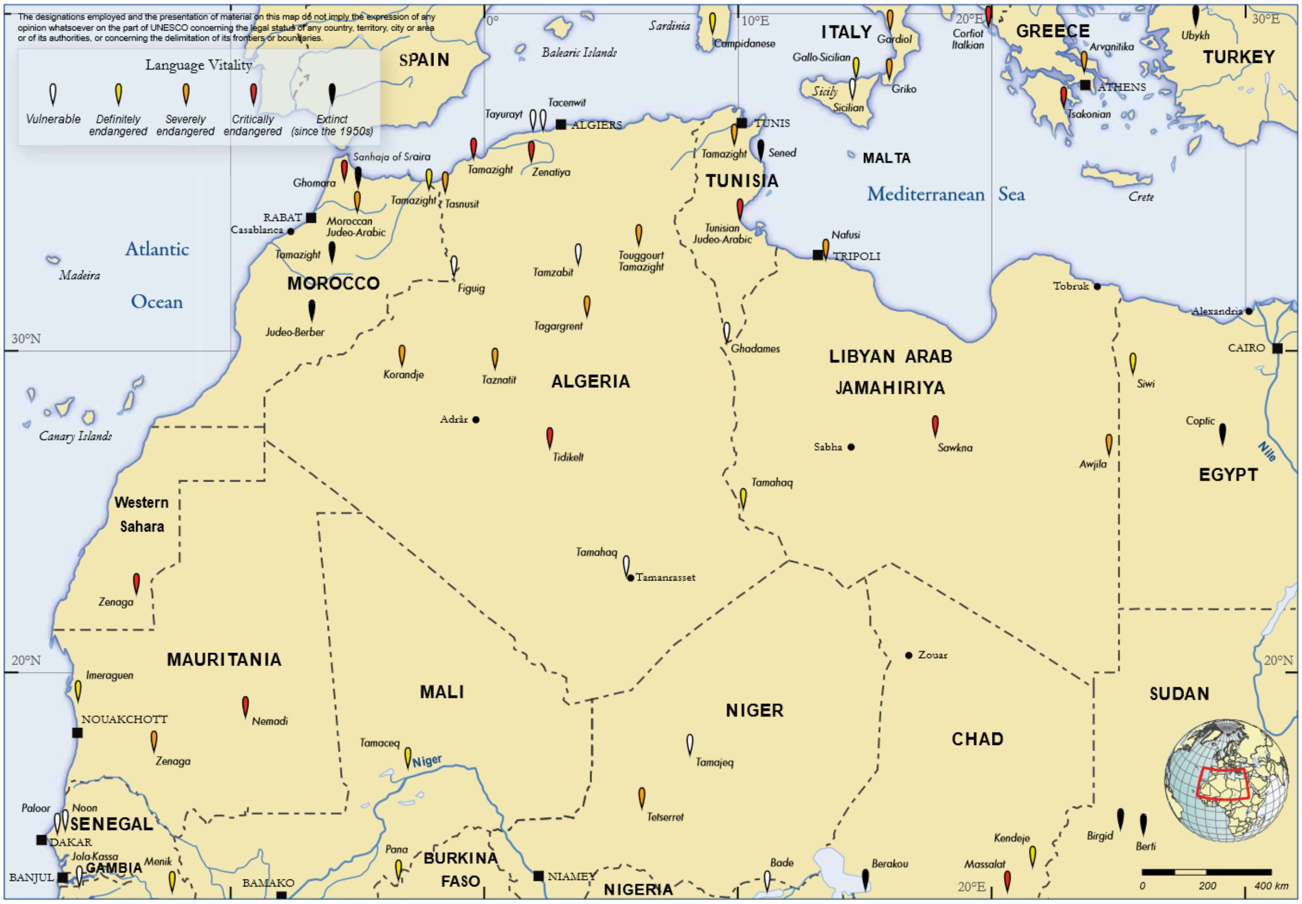
Map 12 Middle East

Ashtiani (IRN) 🟡
Barzani Jewish Neo-Aramaic (2) (IRQ; ISR) 🔴
Bashkardi (IRN) 🟡
Bathari (OMN) 🔴
Cappadocian Greek (TUR) ⚫
Coptic (EGY) ⚫
Cypriot Arabic (CYP) 🟠
Dahaalik (ERI) 🔴
Dari (IRN) 🟡
Domari (EGY; ISR; JOR; LBN; LBY; PSE; SYR) 🟠
Dzhidi (IRN) 🟡
Gazi (IRN) 🟡
Harsusi (OMN) 🟡
Hawrami (IRN; IRQ) 🟡
Hértevin (TUR) 🔴
Hobyot (OMN; YEM) 🟠
Hulaula (2) (IRN; ISR) 🟠
Jibbali (OMN) 🟠
Judeo-Berber (ISR) 🟠
Judezmo (ISR) 🟠
Juhur (ISR) 🟡
Khalaj (IRN) ⚪
Khojki (OMN) 🟠
Khorasani Turk (IRN) ⚪
Khunsari (IRN) 🟡
Kilit (AZE) ⚫
Kolami (IND) 🟡
Koroshi (IRN) 🔴
Kumzari (OMN) 🟠
Lari (IRN) 🟡
Lishan Didan (2) (IRN; ISR) 🟠
Lishana Deni (2) (IRQ; ISR) 🟠
Lishanid Noshan (2) (IRQ; ISR) 🟠
Mandaic (IRN; IRQ) 🔴
Mehri (OMN; YEM) 🟡
Mlahso (2) (SYR; TUR) ⚫
Moghol (AFG) 🔴
Moroccan Judeo-Arabic (ISR) 🟡
Nahali (IND) 🟡
Naiki (IND) 🔴
Natanzi (IRN) 🟠
Nayini (IRN) 🟠
Nihali (IND) 🔴
Razihi (YEM) 🟡
Semnani (IRN) 🟡
Senaya (IRN) 🔴
Sivandi (IRN) 🟡
Soi (IRN) 🟡
Soqotri (YEM) 🟠
Suret (ARM; IRN; IRQ; SYR; TUR) 🟡
Talysh (AZE; IRN) ⚪
Tati (IRN) 🟡
Tunisian Judeo-Arabic (ISR) 🟠
Turoyo (SYR; TUR) 🟠
Vafsi (IRN) 🟡
Western Armenian (IRQ; LBN; SYR) 🟡
Western Neo-Aramaic (SYR) 🟡
Yiddish (ISR) 🟡
Zazaki (TUR) ⚪
Zidgali (OMN) 🔴


Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
30°E
40°E
50°E
60°E
30°N
20°N
Cappadocian Greek
TURKEY
Zazaki
Turoyo
Mlahso
Hértevin
Lishana Deni
Lishan Didan
Kilit
Tati
Talysh
AZ.
Caspian Sea
Barzani Jewish Neo-Aramaic
Suret
Hulaula
Lishanid Noshan
Hawrami
Senaya
TEHRAN
Khalaj
Ashtiani
Semnani
Vafsi
Natanzi
Khunsari
Dzhidi
Gazi
Nayini
Dari
Soi
Mandaic
Sivandi
Koroshi
Shiraz
Lari
Bashkardi
Kumzari
Khorasani Turk
ASHGABAT
TURKMENISTAN
Amu Darya
UZB.
TAJIKISTAN
CHINA
Moghol
Herat
AFGHANISTAN
KABUL
ISLAMABAD
PAKISTAN
Western Himalaya map
NEW DELHI
Indus River
INDIA
Karachi
Nahali
Nihali
Kolami
Naiki
Mumbai
IRAN
(ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF)
Cypriot Arabic
CYPRUS
NICOSIA
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC
Western Armenian
Western Neo-Aramaic
LEBANON
BEIRUT
DAMASCUS
GOLAN
Mediterranean Sea
WEST BANK
TEL AVIV
GAZA
ISRAEL
AMMAN
JORDAN
Alexandria
CAIRO
EGYPT
Coptic
Nile
Euphrates
Tigris
BAGHDAD
IRAQ
KUWAIT CITY
KUWAIT
Persian Gulf
BAHRAIN
MANAMA
DOHA
QATAR
ABU DHABI
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
Gulf of Oman
Khojki
Zidgali
MUSCAT
Sur
RIYADH
SAUDI ARABIA
Red Sea
Mecca
OMAN
Harsusi
Jibbali
Hobyot
Bathari
Mehri
Abha
Razihi
SUDAN
ERITREA
Dahaalik
KHARTOUM
ASMARA
SANA'A
YEMEN
Al Mukalla
Arabian Sea
Eastern Africa map
ETHIOPIA
DJIBOUTI
Gulf of Aden
Soqotri
Socotra
SOMALIA
Indian Ocean
Yiddish
Judezmo
Hulaula
Domari
Moroccan Judeo-Arabic
Tunisian Judeo-Arabic
Lishan Didan
Lishana Deni
WEST BANK
JORDAN
Judeo-Berber
Lishanid Noshan
GAZA
Juhur
Barzani Jewish Neo-Aramaic
ISRAEL
0
250
500 km
The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

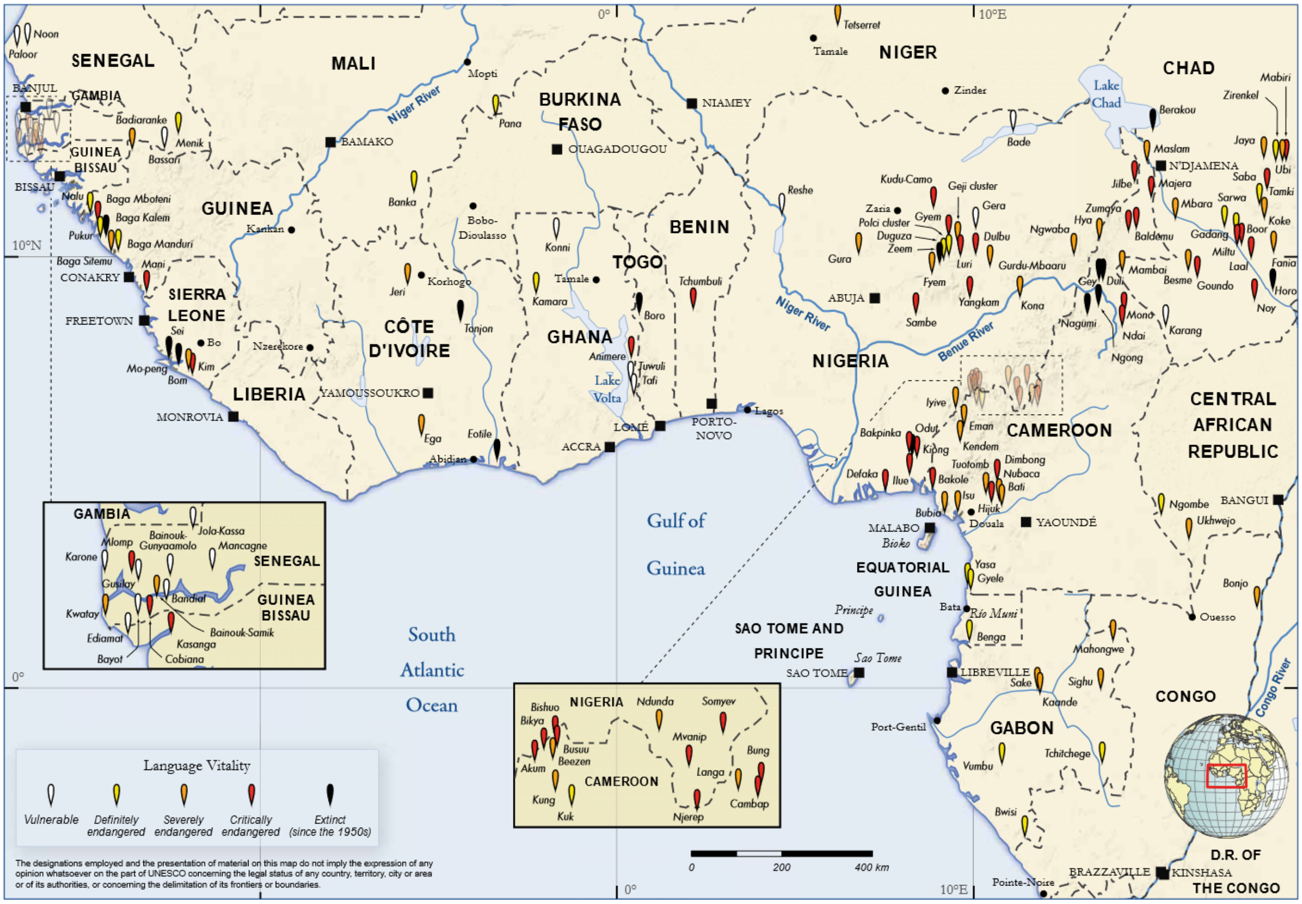
Map 13 Northern Africa

Arvanitika (GRC) 🟠
Awjila (LBY) 🟠
Bade (NGA) ⚪
Berakou (TCD) ⚫
Berti (SDN) ⚫
Birgid (SDN) ⚫
Campidanese (ITA) 🟡
Coptic (EGY) ⚫
Corfiot Italkian (GRC) 🔴
Figuig (MAR) ⚪
Gallo-Sicilian (ITA) 🟡
Gardiol (ITA) 🟠
Ghadames (LBY) ⚪
Ghomara (MAR) 🔴
Griko (ITA) 🟠
Imeraguen (MRT) 🟡
Jola-Kassa (SEN) ⚪
Judeo-Berber (MAR) ⚫
Kendeje (TCD) 🟡
Korandje (DZA) 🟠
Logudorese (ITA) 🟡
Massalat (TCD) 🔴
Menik (SEN) 🟡
Moroccan Judeo-Arabic (MAR) 🟠
Nafusi (LBY) 🟠
Nemadi (MRT) 🔴
Noon (SEN) ⚪
Paloor (SEN) ⚪
Pana (BFA) 🟡
Sanhaja of Srair (MAR) ⚫
Sawkna (LBY) 🔴
Sened (TUN) ⚫
Sicilian (ITA) ⚪
Siwi (EGY) 🟡
Tacenwit (DZA) ⚪
Tagargrent (DZA) 🟠
Tamaceq (MLI) 🟡
Tamahaq (2) (DZA; LBY) ⚪
Tamajeq (NER) ⚪
Tamazight (4) (DZA; MAR; TUN) 🟡
Tamzabit (DZA) ⚪
Tasnusit (DZA) 🟠
Tayurayt (DZA) ⚪
Taznatit (DZA) 🟠
Tetserret (NER) 🟠
Tidikelt (DZA) 🔴
Touggourt Tamazight (DZA) 🟠
Tsakonian (GRC) 🔴
Tunisian Judeo-Arabic (TUN) 🔴
Ubykh (TUR) ⚫
Zenaga (2) (ESH; MRT) 🟠
Zenatiya (DZA) 🔴


The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
0°
10°E
20°E
30°E
30°N
20°N
SPAIN
ITALY
GREECE
TURKEY
MALTA
TUNISIA
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA
EGYPT
Western Sahara
MAURITANIA
MALI
NIGER
CHAD
SUDAN
SENEGAL
GAMBIA
BURKINA FASO
NIGERIA
Atlantic Ocean
Mediterranean Sea
Madeira
Canary Islands
Balearic Islands
Sardinia
Sicily
Crete
Nile
Niger
ALGIERS
TUNIS
TRIPOLI
RABAT
Casablanca
ATHENS
CAIRO
Alexandria
Tobruk
Sabha
Adrâr
Tamanrasset
Zouar
NOUAKCHOTT
DAKAR
BANJUL
BAMAKO
NIAMEY
Campidanese
Gallo-Sicilian
Sicilian
Gardiol
Griko
Corfiot Italkian
Arvanitika
Tsakonian
Ubykh
Tacenwit
Tayurayt
Tamazight
Zenatiya
Sened
Sanhaja of Sraira
Ghomara
Tasnusit
Moroccan Judeo-Arabic
Tunisian Judeo-Arabic
Nafusi
Tamzabit
Touggourt Tamazight
Figuig
Judeo-Berber
Tagargrent
Ghadames
Korandje
Taznatit
Tidikelt
Siwi
Coptic
Sawkna
Awjila
Tamahaq
Zenaga
Imeraguen
Nemadi
Tamaceq
Tamajeq
Tetserret
Paloor
Noon
Jola-Kassa
Menik
Pana
Bade
Berakou
Kendeje
Massalat
Birgid
Berti
0
200
400 km

Map 14 Western Africa

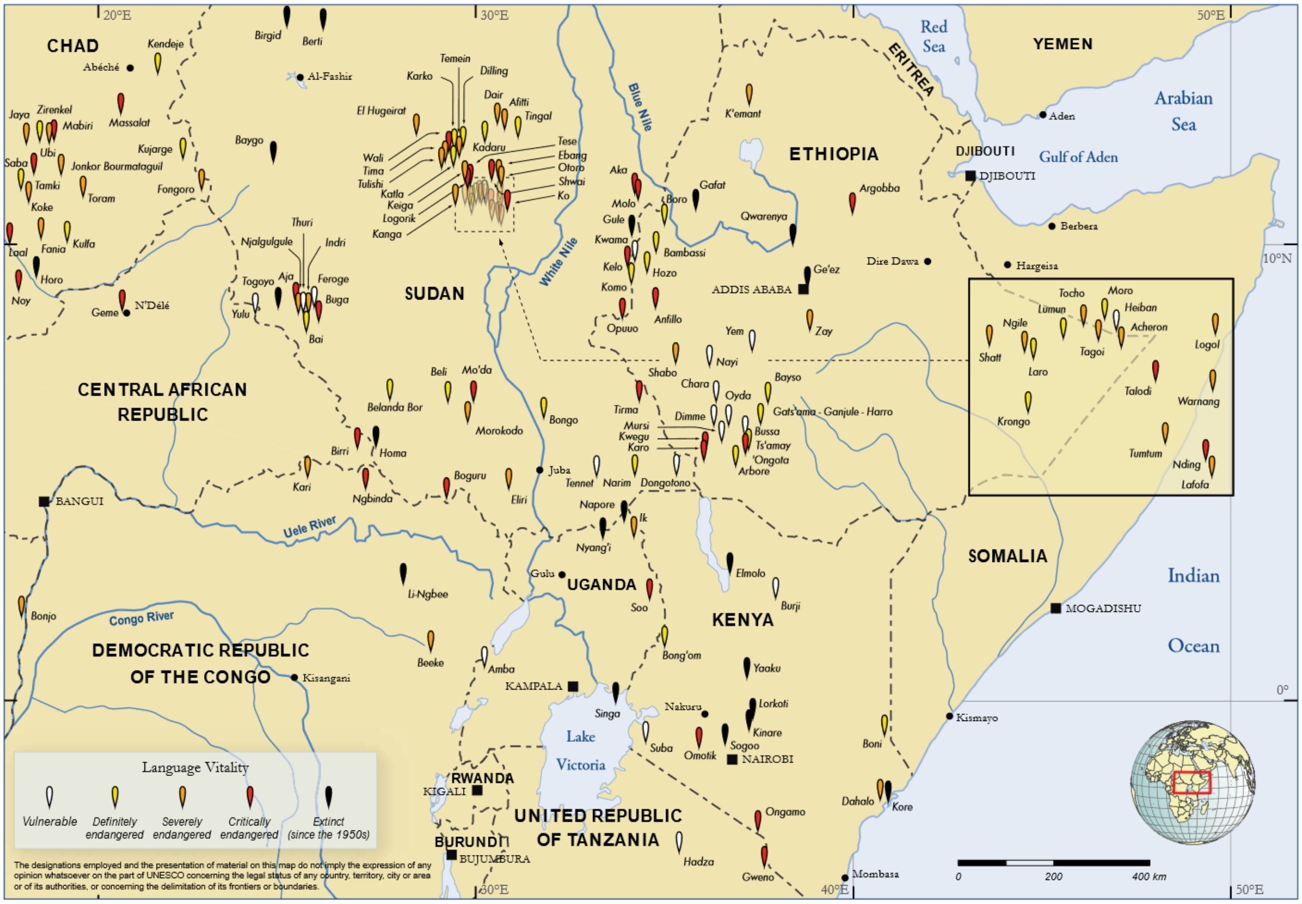
Akum (CMR; NGA) 🔴
Animere (GHA) 🔴
Bade (NGA) ⚪
Badiaranke (GIN) 🟠
Baga Kalem (GIN) ⚫
Baga Manduri (GIN) 🟡
Baga Mboteni (GIN) 🔴
Baga Sitemu (GIN) 🟠
Bainouk-Gunyaamolo (SEN) ⚪
Bainouk-Samik (SEN) 🟠
Bakole (CMR) 🔴
Bakpinka (NGA) 🔴
Baldemu (CMR) 🔴
Bandial (SEN) ⚪
Banka (MLI) 🟡
Bassari (SEN) ⚪
Bati (CMR) 🟠
Bayot (SEN) ⚪
Beezen (CMR) 🟠
Benga (GAB; GNQ) 🟡
Berakou (TCD) ⚫
Besme (TCD) 🟠
Bikya (CMR) 🔴
Bishuo (CMR) 🔴
Bom (SLE) 🟠
Bonjo (COG) 🟠
Boor (TCD) 🔴
Boro (TGO) ⚫
Bubia (CMR) 🟠
Bung (CMR) 🔴
Busuu (CMR) 🔴
Bwisi (COG; GAB) 🟡
Cambap (CMR) 🔴
Cobiana (GNB; SEN) 🔴
Defaka (NGA) 🔴
Dimbong (CMR) 🔴
Duguza (NGA) 🟡
Dulbu (NGA) 🔴
Duli (CMR) ⚫
Ediamat (GNB) ⚪
Ega (CIV) 🟠
Eman (CMR) 🟠
Eotile (CIV) ⚫
Fania (TCD) 🟠
Fyem (NGA) 🟠
Gadang (TCD) 🟡
Geji cluster (NGA) 🟠
Gera (NGA) ⚪
Gey (CMR) ⚫
Goundo (TCD) 🔴
Gura (NGA) 🟠
Gurdu-Mbaaru (NGA) 🟠
Gusilay (SEN) ⚪
Gyele (CMR; GNQ) 🟡
Gyem (NGA) 🔴
Hijuk (CMR) 🔴
Horo (TCD) ⚫
Hya (CMR; NGA) 🟠
Ilue (NGA) 🔴
Isu (CMR) 🟠
Iyive (CMR) 🟠
Jaya (TCD) 🟠
Jeri (CIV) 🟠
Jilbe (NGA) 🔴
Jola-Kassa (SEN) ⚪
Kaande (GAB) 🟠
Kamara (GHA) 🟡
Karang (TCD) ⚪
Karone (SEN) ⚪
Kasanga (GNB) 🔴
Kendem (CMR) 🟠
Kim (SLE) 🔴
Kiong (NGA) 🔴
Koke (TCD) 🟠
Kona (NGA) 🟠
Konni (GHA) ⚪
Kudu-Camo (NGA) 🔴
Kuk (CMR) 🟡
Kung (CMR) 🟠
Kwatay (SEN) 🟠
Laal (TCD) 🔴
Langa (CMR) 🟠
Luri (NGA) 🔴
Mabiri (TCD) 🔴
Mahongwe (GAB) 🟠
Majera (CMR) 🔴
Mambai (TCD) 🟠
Mancagne (SEN) ⚪
Mani (GIN; SLE) 🔴
Maslam (CMR; TCD) 🟠
Mbara (TCD) 🟠
Menik (SEN) 🟡
Miltu (TCD) 🔴
Mlomp (SEN) 🔴
Mo-peng (SLE) ⚫
Mono (CMR) 🔴
Mvanip (NGA) 🔴
Nagumi (CMR) ⚫
Nalu (GIN) 🟡
Ndai (CMR) 🔴
Ndunda (NGA) 🟠
Ngombe (CAF) 🟡
Ngong (CMR) ⚫
Ngwaba (NGA) 🟠
Njerep (CMR) 🔴
Noon (SEN) ⚪
Noy (TCD) 🔴
Nubaca (CMR) 🟠
Odut (NGA) ⚫
Paloor (SEN) ⚪
Pana (BFA) 🟡
Polci cluster (NGA) 🟡
Pukur (GIN) 🟡
Reshe (NGA) ⚪
Saba (TCD) 🟡
Sake (GAB) 🟠
Sambe (NGA) 🔴
Sarwa (TCD) 🟡
Sei (SLE) ⚫
Sighu (GAB) 🟠
Somyev (CMR; NGA) 🔴
Tafi (GHA) ⚪
Tamki (TCD) 🔴
Tchitchege (GAB) 🟡
Tchumbuli (BEN) 🔴
Tetserret (NER) 🟠
Tonjon (CIV) ⚫
Tuotomb (CMR) 🟠
Tuwuli (GHA) ⚪
Ubi (TCD) 🟠
Ukhwejo (CAF) 🟠
Vumbu (GAB) 🟡
Yangkam (NGA) 🔴
Yasa (CMR; GNQ) 🟡
Zeem (NGA) ⚫
Zirenkel (TCD) 🟡
Zumaya (CMR) 🔴


Noon
Paloor
SENEGAL
BANJUL
GAMBIA
Badiaranke
Menik
Bassari
GUINEA BISSAU
BISSAU
Nalu
Baga Mboteni
Baga Kalem
Pukur
Baga Manduri
Baga Sitemu
CONAKRY
Mani
10°N
MALI
Mopti
Niger River
BAMAKO
GUINEA
Kankan
Banka
Bobo-Dioulasso
SIERRA LEONE
FREETOWN
Sei
Bo
Mo-peng
Bom
Kim
Nzerekore
LIBERIA
MONROVIA
YAMOUSSOUKRO
CÔTE D'IVOIRE
Jeri
Korhogo
Tonjon
Ega
Eotile
Abidjan
BURKINA FASO
Pana
OUAGADOUGOU
0°
Konni
Tamale
Kamara
GHANA
Animere
Lake Volta
Tuwuli
Tafi
ACCRA
LOMÉ
TOGO
Boro
BENIN
Tchumbuli
PORTO-NOVO
Lagos
NIAMEY
Tetserret
Tamale
NIGER
Zinder
Bade
Lake Chad
10°E
Reshe
Kudu-Camo
Geji cluster
Zaria
Polci cluster
Duguza
Zeem
Gyem
Gera
Dulbu
Luri
Gura
Fyem
ABUJA
Yangkam
Sambe
Niger River
Benue River
NIGERIA
Gurdu-Mbaaru
Kona
Ngwaba
Zumaya
Hya
Gey
Dulli
Nagumi
Ndai
Ngong
Mono
Karang
CHAD
Berakou
Maslam
N'DJAMENA
Jilbe
Majera
Mbara
Baldemu
Mambai
Besme
Goundo
Mabiri
Zirenkel
Jaya
Ubi
Saba
Tamki
Sarwa
Koke
Boor
Gadang
Miltu
Laal
Fania
Horo
Noy
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
Iyive
Odut
Kiong
Eman
Kendem
Bakpinka
Tuotomb
Dimbong
Nubaca
Bati
Defaka
Ilue
Bakole
Isu
Hijuk
Bubia
Douala
YAOUNDÉ
CAMEROON
Ngombe
BANGUI
Ukhwejo
MALABO
Bioko
EQUATORIAL GUINEA
Yasa
Gyele
Bata
Río Muni
Benga
Bonjo
Ouesso
Principe
SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE
Sao Tome
SAO TOME
LIBREVILLE
Sake
Sighu
Mahongwe
Kaande
CONGO
Congo River
GABON
Port-Gentil
Vumbu
Tchitchege
Bwisi
Pointe-Noire
BRAZZAVILLE
KINSHASA
D.R. OF THE CONGO
Gulf of Guinea
South Atlantic Ocean
0°
GAMBIA
Jola-Kassa
Bainouk-Gunyaamolo
Mlomp
Mancagne
Karone
SENEGAL
Gusilay
Bandial
GUINEA BISSAU
Kwatay
Ediamat
Bainouk-Samik
Kasanga
Bayot
Cobiana
NIGERIA
Ndunda
Somyev
Bishuo
Bikya
Busuu
Beezen
Mvanip
Bung
Akum
Langa
CAMEROON
Kung
Kuk
Njerep
Cambap
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
0
200
400 km
0°
10°E

The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

Map 15 Eastern Africa

'Ongota (ETH)
Acheron (SDN)
Afitti (SDN)
Aja (SDN)
Aka (SDN)
Amba (UGA)
Anfillo (ETH)
Arbore (ETH)
Argobba (ETH)
Bai (SDN)
Bambassi (ETH)
Baygo (SDN)
Bayso (ETH)
Beeke (ZAI)
Belanda Bor (SDN)
Beli (SDN)
Berti (SDN)
Birgid (SDN)
Birri (CAF)
Boguru (SDN; ZAI)
Bong'om (KEN)
Bongo (SDN)
Boni (KEN)
Bonjo (COG)
Boro (ETH)
Buga (SDN)
Burji (KEN)
Bussa (ETH)
Chara (ETH)
Dahalo (KEN)
Dair (SDN)
Dilling (SDN)
Dimme (ETH)
Dongotono (SDN)
Ebang (SDN)
El Hugeirat (SDN)
Eliri (SDN)
Elmolo (KEN)
Fania (TCD)
Feroge (SDN)
Fongoro (TCD)
Gafat (ETH)
Gats'ama - Ganjule - Harro (ETH)
Ge'ez (ETH)
Geme (CAF)
Gule (SDN)
Gweno (TZA)
Hadza (TZA)
Heiban (SDN)
Homa (SDN)
Horo (TCD)
Hozo (ETH)
Ik (UGA)
Indri (SDN)
Jaya (TCD)
Jonkor Bourmataguil (TCD)
K'emant (ETH)
Kadaru (SDN)
Kanga (SDN)
Kari (ZAI)
Karko (SDN)
Karo (ETH)
Katla (SDN)
Keiga (SDN)
Kelo (SDN)
Kendeje (TCD)
Kinare (KEN)
Ko (SDN)
Koke (TCD)
Komo (ETH; SDN)
Kore (KEN)
Krongo (SDN)
Kujarge (TCD)
Kulfa (TCD)
Kwama (ETH)
Kwegu (ETH)
Laal (TCD)
Lafofa (SDN)
Laro (SDN)
Li-Ngbee (ZAI)
Logol (SDN)
Logorik (SDN)
Lorkoti (KEN)
Lumun (SDN)
Mabiri (TCD)
Massalat (TCD)
Mo'da (SDN)
Molo (SDN)
Moro (SDN)
Morokodo (SDN)
Mursi (ETH)
Napore (UGA)
Narim (SDN)
Nayi (ETH)
Nding (SDN)
Ngbinda (ZAI)
Ngile (SDN)
Njalgulgule (SDN)
Noy (TCD)
Nyang'i (UGA)
Omotik (KEN)
Ongamo (KEN)
Opuuo (ETH)
Otoro (SDN)
Oyda (ETH)
Qwarenya (ETH)
Saba (TCD)
Shabo (ETH)
Shatt (SDN)
Shwai (SDN)
Singa (UGA)
Sogoo (KEN)
Soo (UGA)
Suba (KEN; TZA)
Tagoi (SDN)
Talodi (SDN)
Tamki (TCD)
Temein (SDN)
Tennet (SDN)
Tese (SDN)
Thuri (SDN)
Tima (SDN)
Tingal (SDN)
Tirma (SDN)
Tocho (SDN)
Togoyo (SDN)
Toram (TCD)
Ts'amay (ETH)
Tulishi (SDN)
Tumtum (SDN)
Ubi (TCD)
Wali (SDN)
Warnang (SDN)
Yaaku (KEN)
Yem (ETH)
Yulu (CAF; SDN; ZAI)
Zay (ETH)
Zirenkel (TCD)

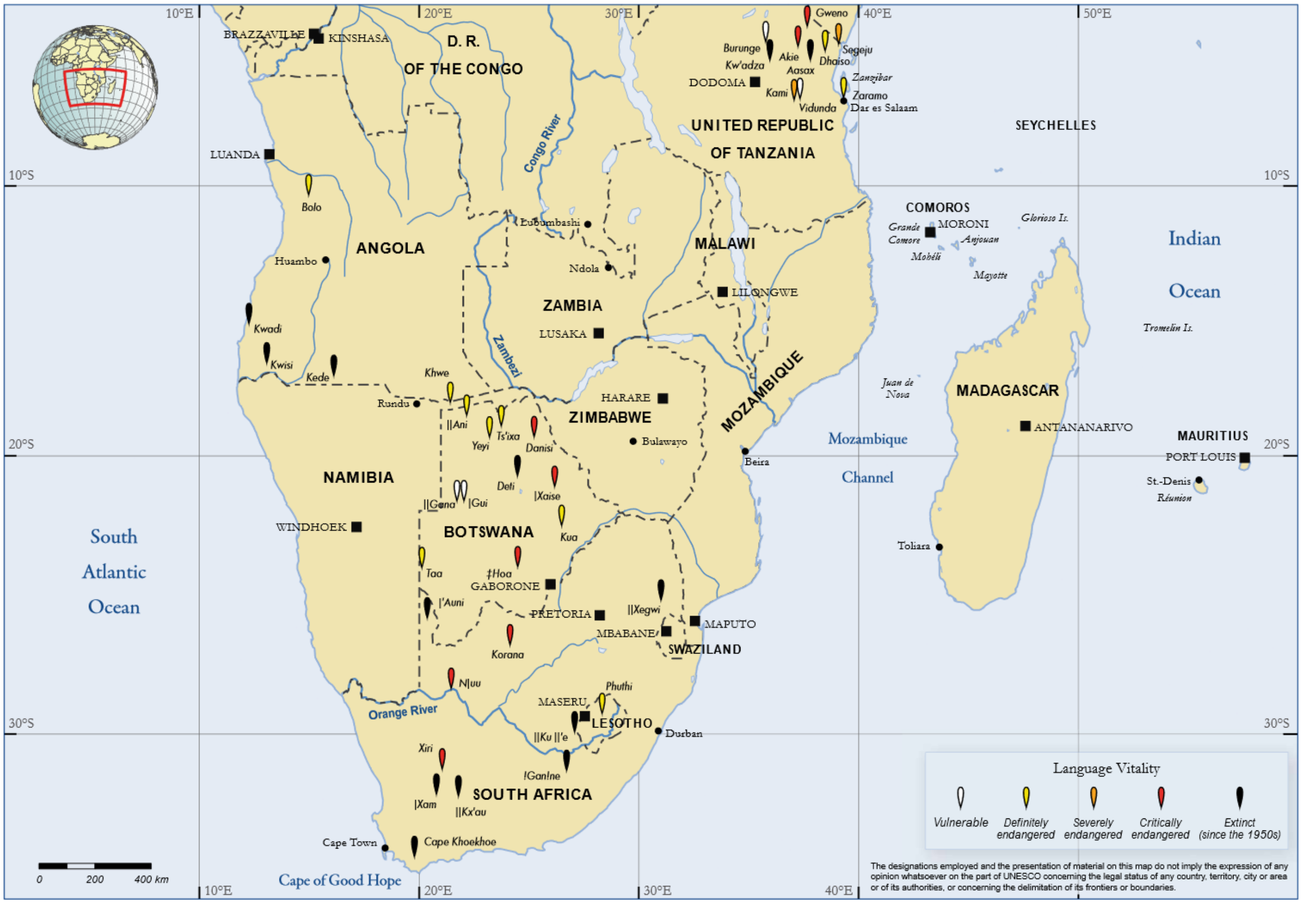

CHAD
Kendeje
Abéché
Birgid
Berti
Al-Fashir
Jaya
Zirenkel
Mabiri
Massalat
Ubi
Saba
Kujarge
Jonkor Bourmataguil
Tamki
Toram
Koke
Fongoro
Baygo
Laal
Fania
Kulfa
Horo
Noy
Geme
N'Délé
Njalgulgule
Thuri
Indri
Togoyo
Aja
Feroge
Yulu
Buga
Bai
Temein
Karko
Dilling
Dair
Afitti
Tingal
El Hugeirat
Kadaru
Wali
Tima
Tulishi
Katla
Keiga
Logorik
Kanga
Tese
Ebang
Otoro
Shwai
Ko
SUDAN
White Nile
Blue Nile
K'emant
ETHIOPIA
Red Sea
ERITREA
YEMEN
Aden
Arabian Sea
Gulf of Aden
DJIBOUTI
DJIBOUTI
Berbera
Hargeisa
Aka
Molo
Boro
Gafat
Gule
Qwarenya
Argobba
Kwama
Bambassi
Kelo
Hozo
Komo
Ge'ez
Dire Dawa
ADDIS ABABA
Anfillo
Opuuo
Yem
Zay
Nayi
Shabo
Bayso
Chara
Oyda
Tirma
Dimme
Gats'ame - Ganjule - Harro
Mursi
Kwegu
Karo
Bussa
Ts'amay
'Ongota
Arbore
Tocho
Moro
Lumun
Heiban
Ngile
Acheron
Shatt
Tagoi
Logol
Laro
Talodi
Warnang
Krongo
Tumtum
Nding
Lafofa
10°N
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
Beli
Mo'da
Belanda Bor
Bongo
Morokodo
Birri
Homa
Kari
Ngbinda
Boguru
Juba
Eliri
Tennet
Narim
Dongotono
BANGUI
Uele River
Napore
Ik
Nyang'i
Gulu
UGANDA
Elmolo
Burji
Li-Ngbee
SOMALIA
Soo
KENYA
Bonjo
Congo River
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
Kisangani
Beeke
Amba
Bong'om
Yaaku
KAMPALA
Singa
Nakuru
Lorkoti
Lake Victoria
Suba
Omotik
Sogoo
Kinare
NAIROBI
Boni
Kismayo
MOGADISHU
Indian Ocean
0°
RWANDA
KIGALI
UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
BURUNDI
BUJUMBURA
Ongamo
Hadza
Gweno
Dahalo
Kore
Mombasa
20°E
30°E
40°E
50°E
0
200
400 km
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)

The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

Map 16 Southern Africa

!Gan!ne (ZAF) ⚫
|’Auni (ZAF) ⚫
|Gui (BWA) ⚪
|Xaise (BWA) 🔴
|Xam (ZAF) ⚫
Aasax (TZA) ⚫
Akie (TZA) 🔴
Bolo (ANG) 🟡
Burunge (TZA) ⚪
Cape Khoekhoe (ZAF) ⚫
Danisi (BWA) 🔴
Deti (BWA) ⚫
Dhaiso (TZA) 🟡
Gweno (TZA) 🔴
Kami (TZA) 🟠
Kede (ANG) ⚫
Khwe (NAM) 🟡
Korana (ZAF) 🔴
Kua (BWA) 🟡
Kw’adza (TZA) ⚫
Kwadi (ANG) ⚫
Kwisi (ANG) ⚫
N|uu (ZAF) 🔴
Phuthi (LSO) 🟡
Segeju (TZA) 🟠
Taa (BWA) 🟡
Ts’ixa (BWA) 🟡
Vidunda (TZA) ⚪
Xiri (ZAF) 🔴
Yeyi (BWA) 🟡
Zaramo (TZA) 🟡
||Ani (BWA) 🟡
||Gana (BWA) ⚪
||Ku ||’e (ZAF) ⚫
||Kx’au (ZAF) ⚫
||Xegwi (ZAF) ⚫
||Hoa (BWA) 🔴

Southern Africa Map 16

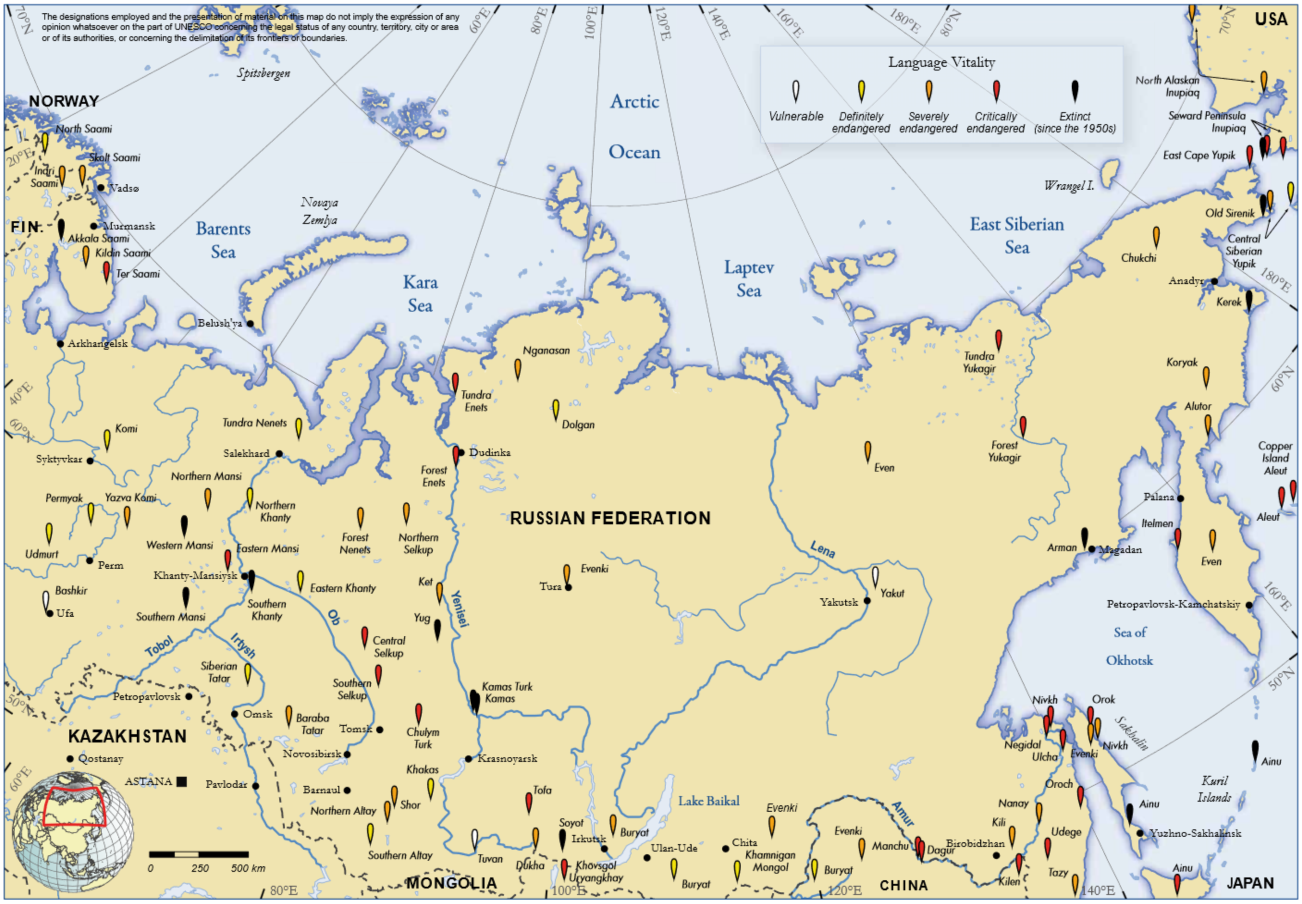


10°E
20°E
30°E
40°E
50°E
10°S
20°S
30°S
BRAZZAVILLE
KINSHASA
D. R.
OF THE CONGO
Congo River
LUANDA
Gweno
Burunge
Kw'adza
Akie
Aasax
Dhaiso
Segeju
Zanzibar
Zaramo
Dar es Salaam
DODOMA
Kami
Vidunda
UNITED REPUBLIC
OF TANZANIA
SEYCHELLES
Bolo
COMOROS
Grande Comore
MORONI
Anjouan
Mohéli
Mayotte
Glorioso Is.
Indian
Ocean
Lubumbashi
ANGOLA
Huambo
Ndola
MALAWI
LILONGWE
ZAMBIA
LUSAKA
Zambezi
Tromelin Is.
Kwadi
Kwisi
Kede
Khwe
Rundu
||Ani
Yeyi
Ts'ixa
Danisi
HARARE
ZIMBABWE
Bulawayo
MOZAMBIQUE
Juan de Nova
MADAGASCAR
ANTANANARIVO
MAURITIUS
PORT LOUIS
St.-Denis
Réunion
Mozambique
Channel
Beira
NAMIBIA
Deti
|Xaise
||Gana
|Gui
WINDHOEK
BOTSWANA
Kua
South
Atlantic
Ocean
Toliara
Taa
ǂHoa
GABORONE
|'Auni
PRETORIA
||Xegwi
MAPUTO
MBABANE
SWAZILAND
Korana
N|uu
Orange River
Phuthi
MASERU
LESOTHO
||Ku ||'e
Durban
Xiri
!Gan!ne
|Xam
||Kx'au
SOUTH AFRICA
Cape Town
Cape Khoekhoe
0
200
400 km
Cape of Good Hope
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)

The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

Map 17 North-eastern Asia

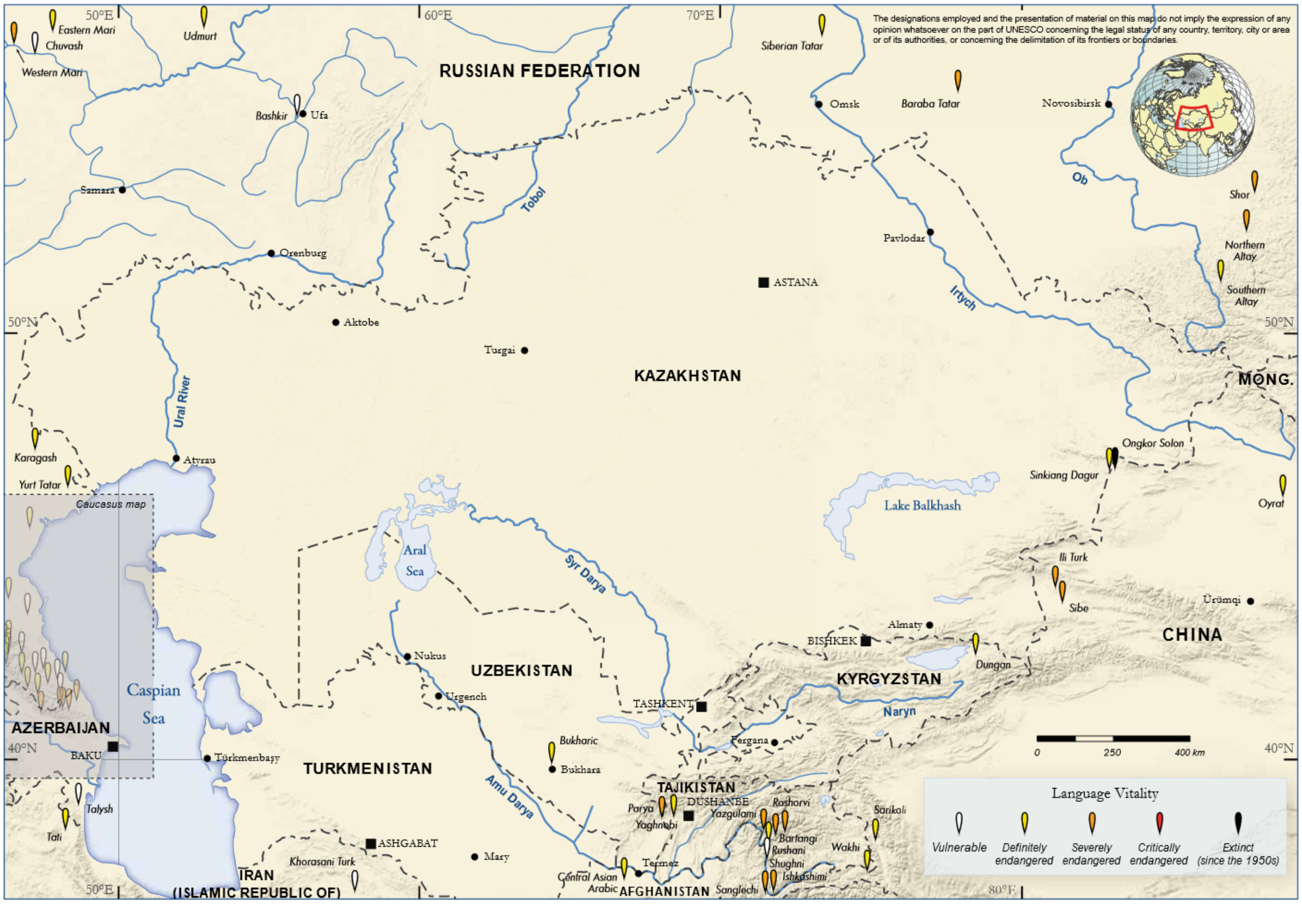
Ainu (3) (JPN; RUS) 🔴
Aleut (RUS) 🔴
Alutor (RUS) 🟠
Arman (RUS) ⚫
Baraba Tatar (RUS) 🟠
Bashkir (RUS) ⚪
Buryat (3) (CHN; MNG; RUS) 🟡
Central Selkup (RUS) 🔴
Central Siberian Yupik (2) (RUS; USA) 🟡
Chukchi (RUS) 🟠
Chulym Turk (RUS) 🔴
Copper Island Aleut (RUS) 🔴
Dagur (CHN) 🔴
Dolgan (RUS) 🟡
Dukha (MNG) 🟠
East Cape Yupik (RUS) 🔴
Eastern Khanty (RUS) 🟡
Eastern Mansi (RUS) 🔴
Even (2) (RUS) 🟠
Evenki (4) (CHN; MNG; RUS) 🟠
Forest Enets (RUS) 🔴
Forest Nenets (RUS) 🟠
Forest Yukagir (RUS) 🔴
Inari Saami (FIN) 🟠
Itelmen (RUS) 🔴
Kamas (RUS) ⚫
Kamas Turk (RUS) ⚫
Kerek (RUS) ⚫
Ket (RUS) 🟠
Khakas (RUS) 🟡
Khamnigan Mongol (CHN; MNG; RUS) 🟡
Khövsgöl Uryangkhay (MNG) 🔴
Kildin Saami (RUS) 🟠
Kilen (CHN; RUS) 🔴
Kili (RUS) 🟠
Komi (RUS) 🟡
Koryak (RUS) 🟠
Manchu (CHN) 🔴
Nanay (CHN; RUS) 🟠
Negidal (RUS) 🔴
Nganasan (RUS) 🟠
Nivkh (2) (RUS) 🟠
North Alaskan Inupiaq (2) (USA) 🟠
North Saami (FIN; NOR; RUS; SWE) 🟡
Northern Altay (RUS) 🟠
Northern Khanty (RUS) 🟡
Northern Mansi (RUS) 🟠
Northern Selkup (RUS) 🟠
Old Sirenik (RUS) ⚫
Orok (RUS) 🔴
Permyak (RUS) 🟡
Seward Peninsula Inupiaq (3) (RUS; USA) 🔴
Shor (RUS) 🟠
Siberian Tatar (RUS) 🟡
Skolt Saami (FIN; NOR; RUS) 🟠
Southern Altay (RUS) 🟡
Southern Khanty (RUS) ⚫
Southern Mansi (RUS) ⚫
Southern Selkup (RUS) 🔴
Soyot (RUS) ⚫
Tazy (RUS) 🟠
Ter Saami (RUS) 🔴
Tofa (RUS) 🔴
Tundra Enets (RUS) 🔴
Tundra Nenets (RUS) 🟡
Tundra Yukagir (RUS) 🔴
Tuvan (CHN; MNG; RUS) ⚪
Udege (RUS) 🔴
Udmurt (RUS) 🟡
Ulcha (RUS) 🔴
Western Mansi (RUS) ⚫
Yakut (RUS) ⚪
Yazva Komi (RUS) 🟠
Yug (RUS) ⚫


The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
Arctic Ocean
Barents Sea
Kara Sea
Laptev Sea
East Siberian Sea
Sea of Okhotsk
Spitsbergen
Novaya Zemlya
Wrangel I.
Kuril Islands
Sakhalin
Lake Baikal
NORWAY
FIN.
USA
RUSSIAN FEDERATION
KAZAKHSTAN
MONGOLIA
CHINA
JAPAN
North Saami
Skolt Saami
Inari Saami
Vadsø
Murmansk
Akkala Saami
Kildin Saami
Ter Saami
Arkhangelsk
Belush'ya
Komi
Syktyvkar
Permyak
Yazva Komi
Udmurt
Perm
Bashkir
Ufa
Western Mansi
Northern Mansi
Tundra Nenets
Salekhard
Northern Khanty
Eastern Mansi
Khanty-Mansiysk
Southern Mansi
Southern Khanty
Eastern Khanty
Forest Nenets
Northern Selkup
Central Selkup
Southern Selkup
Siberian Tatar
Baraba Tatar
Tobol
Irtysh
Ob
Yenisei
Lena
Amur
Petropavlovsk
Omsk
Tomsk
Novosibirsk
Qostanay
ASTANA
Pavlodar
Barnaul
Northern Altay
Southern Altay
Shor
Khakas
Chulym Turk
Kamas Turk
Kamas
Krasnoyarsk
Ket
Yug
Tundra Enets
Forest Enets
Dudinka
Nganasan
Dolgan
Evenki
Tura
Tofa
Soyot
Irkutsk
Tuvan
Dukha
Khovsgol Uryangkhay
Buryat
Ulan-Ude
Chita
Khamnigan Mongol
Even
Yakut
Yakutsk
Tundra Yukagir
Forest Yukagir
Chukchi
Anadyr
Kerek
Koryak
Alutor
Palana
Itelmen
Arman
Magadan
Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy
Copper Island Aleut
Aleut
North Alaskan Inupiaq
Seward Peninsula Inupiaq
East Cape Yupik
Old Sirenik
Central Siberian Yupik
Nivkh
Orok
Negidal
Ulcha
Oroch
Nanay
Kili
Udege
Tazy
Kilen
Manchu
Dagur
Birobidzhan
Ainu
Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk
70°N
60°N
50°N
20°E
40°E
60°E
80°E
100°E
120°E
140°E
160°E
180°E
0
250
500 km

Map 18 Central Asia

Baraba Tatar (RUS) 🟠
Bartangi (TJK) 🟠
Bashkir (RUS) ⚪
Bukharic (UZB) 🟡
Central Asian Arabic (AFG; TJK; UZB) 🟡
Chuvash (RUS) ⚪
Dungan (KAZ; KGZ) 🟡
Eastern Mari (RUS) 🟡
Ili Turk (CHN) 🟠
Ishkashimi (TJK) 🟠
Karagash (RUS) 🟡
Khorasani Turk (IRN) ⚪
Northern Altay (RUS) 🟠
Ongkor Solon (CHN) ⚫
Oyrat (CHN; KGZ; MNG) 🟡
Parya (AFG; TJK; UZB) 🟠
Roshorvi (TJK) 🟠
Rushani (AFG; TJK) 🟡
Sanglechi (AFG; TJK) 🟠
Sarikoli (CHN) 🟡
Shor (RUS) 🟠
Shughni (AFG; TJK) ⚪
Sibe (CHN) 🟠
Siberian Tatar (RUS) 🟡
Sinkiang Dagur (CHN) 🟡
Southern Altay (RUS) 🟡
Talysh (AZE; IRN) ⚪
Tati (IRN) 🟡
Udmurt (RUS) 🟡
Wakhi (AFG; CHN; PAK; TJK) 🟡
Western Mari (RUS) 🟠
Yaghnobi (TJK) 🟡
Yazgulami (TJK) 🟠
Yurt Tatar (RUS) 🟡

Central Asia   Map 18


RUSSIAN FEDERATION
KAZAKHSTAN
UZBEKISTAN
TURKMENISTAN
KYRGYZSTAN
TAJIKISTAN
AFGHANISTAN
AZERBAIJAN
IRAN
(ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF)
CHINA
MONG.
50°E
60°E
70°E
80°E
50°N
40°N
Eastern Mari
Chuvash
Western Mari
Udmurt
Bashkir
Ufa
Samara
Orenburg
Aktobe
Siberian Tatar
Omsk
Baraba Tatar
Novosibirsk
Ob
Shor
Northern Altay
Southern Altay
Pavlodar
Irtych
ASTANA
Tobol
Turgai
Ural River
Atyrau
Karagash
Yurt Tatar
Caucasus map
Caspian Sea
BAKU
Talysh
Tati
Türkmenbaşy
Aral Sea
Syr Darya
Nukus
Urgench
Amu Darya
Bukharic
Bukhara
ASHGABAT
Mary
Khorasani Turk
Central Asian Arabic
Termez
Parya
Yaghnobi
DUSHANBE
Yazgulami
Roshorvi
Bartangi
Rushani
Shughni
Ishkashimi
Sanglechi
Wakhi
Sarikoli
TASHKENT
Fergana
Naryn
BISHKEK
Almaty
Dungan
Lake Balkhash
Ongkor Solon
Sinkiang Dagur
Oyrat
Ili Turk
Sibe
Ürümqi
0
250
400 km
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)

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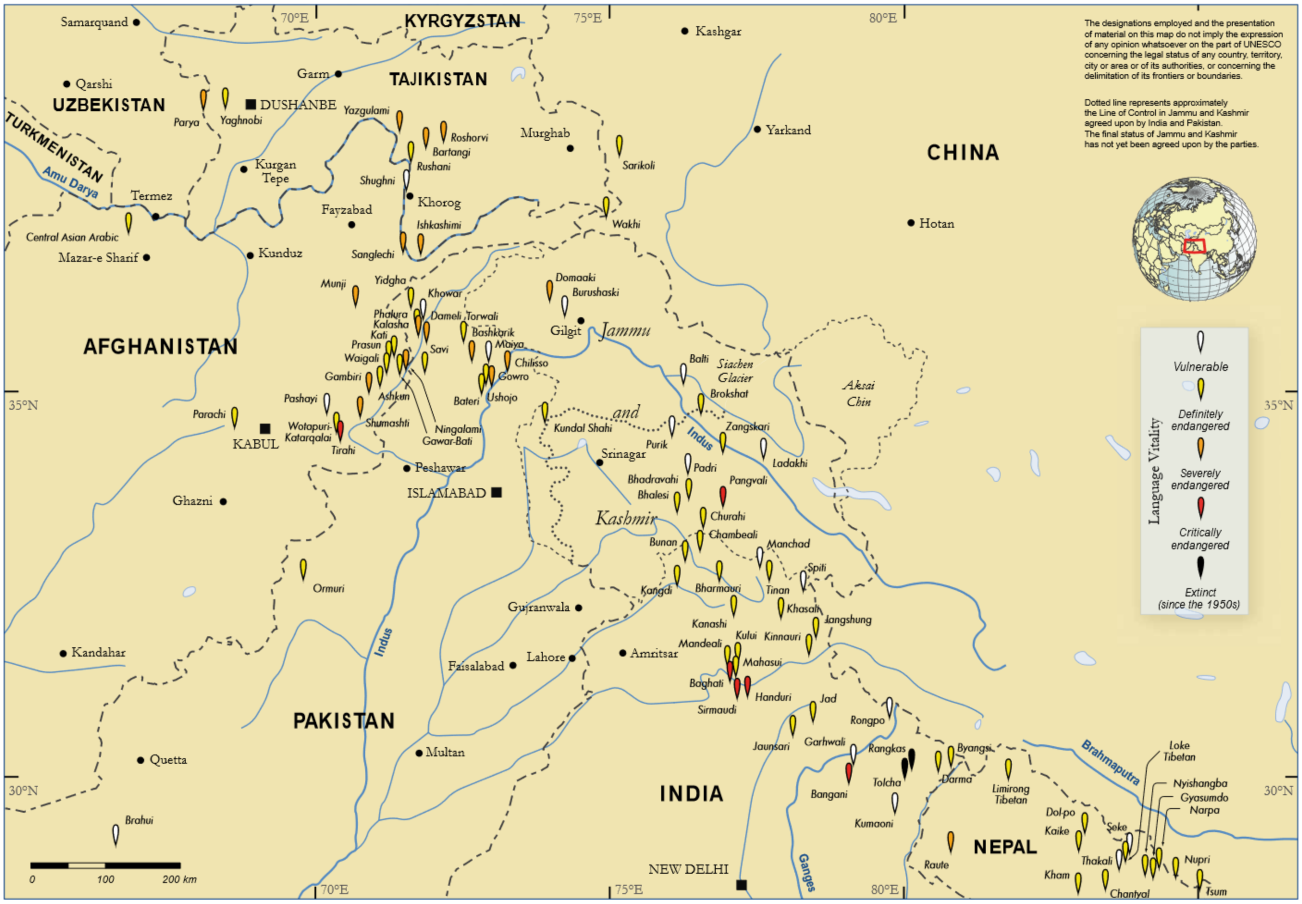
Map 19 Western Himalaya

Ashkun (AFG) 🟡
Baghati (IND) 🔴
Balti (IND; PAK) ⚪
Bangani (IND) 🔴
Bartangi (TJK) 🟠
Bashkarik (PAK) 🟠
Bateri (PAK) 🟡
Bhadravahi (IND; PAK) 🟡
Bhalesi (IND) 🟡
Bharmauri (IND) 🟡
Brahui (AFG; IRN; PAK) ⚪
Brokshat (IND) 🟡
Bunan (IND) 🟡
Burushaski (PAK) ⚪
Byangsi (IND; NPL) 🟡
Central Asian Arabic (AFG; TJK; UZB) 🟡
Chambeali (IND) 🟡
Chantyal (NPL) 🟡
Chilisso (PAK) 🟠
Churahi (IND) 🟡
Dameli (PAK) 🟠
Darma (IND; NPL) 🟡
Dol-po (NPL) 🟡
Domaaki (PAK) 🟠
Gambiri (AFG) 🟠
Garhwali (IND) ⚪
Gawar-Bati (AFG; PAK) 🟡
Gowro (PAK) 🟠
Gyasumdo (NPL) 🟡
Handuri (IND) 🔴
Ishkashimi (TJK) 🟠
Jad (IND; PAK) 🟡
Jangshung (IND) 🟡
Jaunsari (IND) 🟡
Kaike (NPL) 🟡
Kalasha (PAK) 🟠
Kanashi (IND) 🟡
Kangdi (IND) 🟡
Kati (AFG; PAK) 🟡
Kham (NPL) 🟡
Khasali (IND) 🟡
Khowar (PAK) ⚪
Kinnauri (IND) 🟡
Kului (IND) 🟡
Kumaoni (IND; NPL) ⚪
Kundal Shahi (IND; PAK) 🟡
Ladakhi (CHN; IND) ⚪
Limirong Tibetan (NPL) 🟡
Loke Tibetan (NPL) 🟡
Mahasui (IND) 🟡
Maiya (PAK) ⚪
Manchad (IND) ⚪
Mandeali (IND) 🟡
Munji (AFG) 🟠
Narpa (NPL) 🟡
Ningalami (AFG) 🟠
Nupri (NPL) 🟡
Nyishangba (NPL) 🟡
Ormuri (AFG; PAK) 🟡
Padri (IND) ⚪
Pangvali (IND) 🔴
Parachi (AFG) 🟡
Parya (AFG; TJK; UZB) 🟠
Pashayi (AFG) ⚪
Phalura (PAK) 🟡
Prasun (AFG) 🟡
Purik (IND; PAK) ⚪
Rangkas (IND) ⚫
Raute (NPL) 🟠
Rongpo (IND) ⚪
Roshorvi (TJK) 🟠
Rushani (AFG; TJK) 🟡
Sanglechi (AFG; TJK) 🟠
Sarikoli (CHN) 🟡
Savi (AFG; PAK) 🟡
Seke (NPL) ⚪
Shughni (AFG; TJK) ⚪
Shumashti (AFG) 🟠
Sirmaudi (IND) 🔴
Spiti (IND; PAK) ⚪
Thakali (NPL) ⚪
Tinan (CHN; IND) 🟡
Tirahi (AFG) 🔴
Tolcha (IND) ⚫
Torwali (PAK) 🟡
Tsum (NPL) 🟡
Ushojo (PAK) 🟡
Waigali (AFG) 🟡
Wakhi (AFG; CHN; PAK; TJK) 🟡
Wotapuri-Katarqalai (AFG) 🟡
Yaghnobi (TJK) 🟡
Yazgulami (TJK) 🟠
Yidgha (PAK) 🟡
Zangskari (IND; PAK) 🟡

Western Himalaya   Map 19



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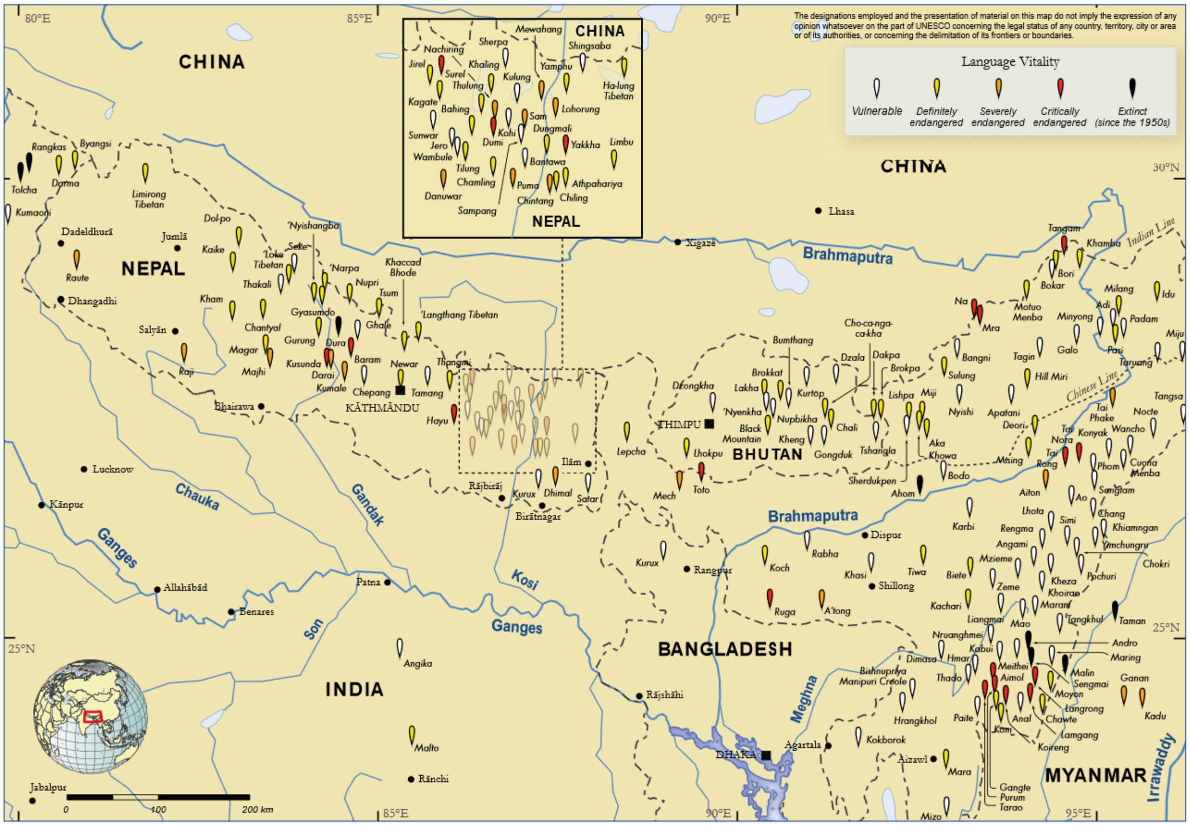
Dotted line represents approximately the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir agreed upon by India and Pakistan. The final status of Jammu and Kashmir has not yet been agreed upon by the parties.

Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
70°E
75°E
80°E
35°N
30°N
0
100
200 km
KYRGYZSTAN
TAJIKISTAN
UZBEKISTAN
TURKMENISTAN
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
INDIA
CHINA
NEPAL
Samarquand
Qarshi
DUSHANBE
Garm
Kashgar
Yarkand
Hotan
Murghab
Kurgan Tepe
Termez
Amu Darya
Fayzabad
Khorog
Kunduz
Mazar-e Sharif
KABUL
Ghazni
Kandahar
Quetta
Peshawar
ISLAMABAD
Gilgit
Jammu
and
Kashmir
Srinagar
Siachen Glacier
Aksai Chin
Indus
Gujranwala
Lahore
Faisalabad
Amritsar
Multan
NEW DELHI
Ganges
Brahmaputra
Parya
Yaghnobi
Yazgulami
Roshorvi
Bartangi
Rushani
Shughni
Sarikoli
Wakhi
Ishkashimi
Sanglechi
Central Asian Arabic
Munji
Yidgha
Khowar
Domaaki
Burushaski
Phalura
Kalasha
Kati
Prasun
Waigali
Gambiri
Dameli
Torwali
Bashkarik
Maiya
Savi
Chilisso
Gowro
Bateri
Ushojo
Ashkun
Shumashti
Ningalami
Gawar-Bati
Pashayi
Parachi
Wotapuri-Katarqalai
Tirahi
Kundal Shahi
Ormuri
Brahui
Balti
Brokshat
Purik
Zangskari
Ladakhi
Padri
Bhadravahi
Bhalesi
Pangvali
Churahi
Chambeali
Bunan
Manchad
Kangdi
Bharmauri
Tinan
Spiti
Khasali
Kanashi
Jangshung
Kului
Kinnauri
Mandeali
Mahasui
Baghati
Handuri
Sirmaudi
Jad
Rongpo
Jaunsari
Garhwali
Rangkas
Tolcha
Bangani
Kumaoni
Byangsi
Darma
Limirong Tibetan
Raute
Dol-po
Kaike
Seke
Thakali
Kham
Chantyal
Loke Tibetan
Nyishangba
Gyasumdo
Narpa
Nupri
Tsum

Map 20 Central Himalaya

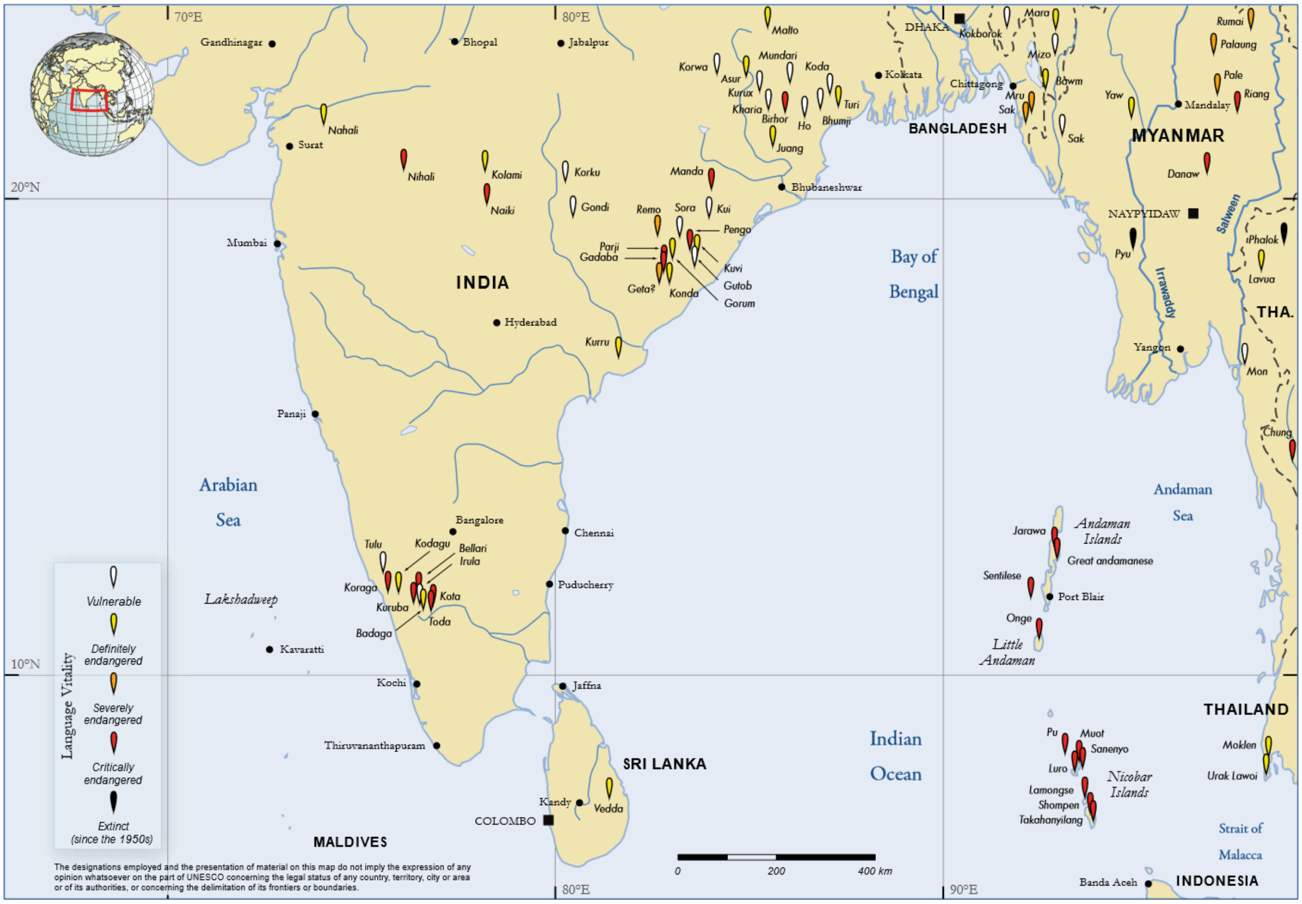
A'tong (IND) 🟠
Adi (CHN; IND) ⚪
Ahom (IND) ⚫
Aimol (IND) 🔴
Aiton (IND) 🟠
Aka (IND) 🟡
Anal (IND) ⚪
Andro (IND) ⚫
Angami (IND) ⚪
Angika (IND; NPL) ⚪
Ao (IND) ⚪
Apatani (IND) ⚪
Athpahariya (NPL) 🟡
Bahing (NPL) 🟡
Bangni (IND) ⚪
Bantawa (NPL) ⚪
Barām (NPL) 🔴
Biete (IND) 🟡
Bishnupriya Manipuri Creole (BGD; IND) ⚪
Black Mountain (BTN) 🟡
Bodo (IND) ⚪
Bokar (CHN; IND) ⚪
Bori (CHN; IND) 🟡
Brokkat (BTN) 🟡
Brokpa (BTN) 🟡
Bumthang (BTN) ⚪
Byangsi (IND; NPL) 🟡
Chali (BTN) 🟡
Chamling (NPL) 🟡
Chang (IND) ⚪
Chantyal (NPL) 🟡
Chawte (MMR) 🟡
Chepang (NPL) ⚪
Chintang (NPL) 🟠
Chɨlɨng (NPL) 🟡
Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha (BTN) 🟡
Chokri (IND) ⚪
Cuona Menba (BTN; CHN; IND) ⚪
Dakpa (BTN; IND) 🟡
Danuwar (NPL) 🟠
Darai (NPL) 🟠
Darma (IND; NPL) 🟡
Deori (IND) 🟡
Dhimal (NPL) 🟠
Dimasa (IND) ⚪
Dol-po (NPL) 🟡
Dumi (NPL) 🔴
Dungmali (NPL) 🟡
Dura (NPL) ⚫
Dzala (BTN) ⚪
Dzongkha (BTN) ⚪
Galo (IND) ⚪
Ganan (MMR) 🟠
Gangte (IND) 🟡
Ghale (NPL) ⚪
Gongduk (BTN) ⚪
Gurung (NPL) 🟡
Gyasumdo (NPL) 🟡
Ha-lung Tibetan (NPL) 🟡
Hayu (NPL) 🔴
Hill Miri (IND) 🟡
Hmar (IND) ⚪
Hrangkhol (IND) ⚪
Idu (CHN; IND) 🟡
Jero (NPL) ⚪
Jirel (NPL) 🟡
Kabui (IND) ⚪
Kachari (IND) 🟡
Kadu (MMR) 🟠
Kāgate (NPL) 🟡
Kaike (NPL) 🟡
Karbi (IND) ⚪
Khaccaḍ Bhoṭe (NPL) 🟡
Khaling (NPL) 🟡
Kham (NPL) 🟡
Khamba (CHN; IND) 🟡
Khasi (IND) ⚪
Kheng (BTN) ⚪
Kheza (IND) ⚪
Khiamngan (IND) ⚪
Khoirao (IND) ⚪
Khowa (IND) 🟡
Koch (IND) 🟡
Kohi (NPL) ⚪
Koireng (IND) 🔴
Kokborok (BGD; IND) ⚪
Kom (IND) 🟡
Konyak (IND) ⚪
Kulung (NPL) ⚪
Kumāle (NPL) 🟠
Kumaoni (IND; NPL) ⚪
Kurtöp (BTN) ⚪
Kurux (2) (BGD; NPL) ⚪
Kusunda (NPL) 🔴
Lakha (BTN) 🟡
Lamgang (IND) 🔴
Langrong (IND) 🔴
Langthang Tibetan (NPL) 🟡
Lepcha (BTN; IND; NPL) 🟡
Lhokpu (BTN) 🟡
Lhota (IND) ⚪
Liangmai (IND) ⚪
Limbu (IND; NPL) 🟡
Limirong Tibetan (NPL) 🟡
Lishpa (IND) 🟡
Lohorung (NPL) 🟠
Loke Tibetan (NPL) 🟡
Magar (NPL) 🟡
Majhi (NPL) 🟠
Malin (MMR) ⚫
Malto (IND) 🟡
Mao (IND) ⚪
Mara (IND) 🟡
Maram (IND) ⚪
Maring (IND) ⚪
Mech (IND) 🟠
Meithei (IND) ⚪
Mewahang (NPL) 🟠
Miji (IND) 🟡
Miju (CHN; IND) ⚪
Milang (IND) 🟡
Minyong (IND) ⚪
Mising (IND) 🟡
Mizo (IND) ⚪
Motuo Menba (CHN; IND) 🟡
Moyon (IND) 🟡
Mra (CHN; IND) 🔴
Mzieme (IND) ⚪
Na (CHN; IND) 🔴
Nachiring (NPL) 🟠
Narpa (NPL) 🟡
Newar (NPL) 🟡
Nocte (IND) ⚪
Nruanghmei (IND) ⚪
Nupbikha (BTN) ⚪
Nupri (NPL) 🟡
Nyenkha (BTN) ⚪
Nyishangba (NPL) 🟡
Nyishi (IND) ⚪
Padam (IND) ⚪
Paite (IND) ⚪
Pasi (IND) 🟡
Phom (IND) ⚪
Pochuri (IND) ⚪
Puma (NPL) 🟠
Purum (IND) 🔴
Rabha (IND) ⚪
Raji (NPL) 🟠
Rangkas (IND) ⚫
Raute (NPL) 🟠
Rengma (IND) ⚪
Ruga (IND) 🔴
Sām (NPL) 🟠
Sampang (NPL) ⚪
Sangtam (IND) ⚪
Satār (NPL) ⚪
Seke (NPL) ⚪
Sengmai (IND) ⚫
Sherdukpen (IND) ⚪
Sherpa (CHN; IND; NPL) ⚪
Shingsaba (CHN; NPL) ⚪
Simi (IND) ⚪
Sulung (CHN; IND) 🟡
Sunwar (NPL) ⚪
Surel (NPL) 🔴
Tagin (IND) ⚪
Tai Nora (IND) 🔴
Tai Phake (IND) 🟠
Tai Rong (IND) 🔴
Taman (MMR) ⚫
Tamang (IND; NPL) ⚪
Tangam (IND) 🔴
Tangkhul (IND) ⚪
Tangsa (IND) ⚪
Tarao (IND) 🔴
Taruang (CHN; IND; MMR) ⚪
Thado (IND) ⚪
Thakali (NPL) ⚪
Thangmi (NPL) 🟡
Thulung (NPL) 🟡
Tilung (NPL) 🟡
Tiwa (IND) 🟡
Tolcha (IND) ⚫
Toto (IND) (🔴
Tshangla (BTN; CHN; IND) ⚪
Tsum (NPL) 🟡
Wambule (NPL) ⚪
Wancho (IND) ⚪
Yakkha (NPL) 🔴
Yamphu (NPL) 🟡
Yimchungru (IND) ⚪
Zeme (IND) ⚪


The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
80°E
85°E
90°E
95°E
30°N
25°N
CHINA
NEPAL
INDIA
BHUTAN
BANGLADESH
MYANMAR
Mewahang
Sherpa
Nachiring
Shingsaba
Jirel
Surel
Khaling
Yamphu
Thulung
Kulung
Ha-lung Tibetan
Kagate
Bahing
Lohorung
Sam
Kohi
Dungmali
Sunwar
Jero
Dumi
Yakkha
Limbu
Wambule
Bantawa
Tilung
Chamling
Puma
Athpahariya
Danuwar
Chintang
Chiling
Sampang
Rangkas
Byangsi
Tolcha
Darma
Limirong Tibetan
Kumaoni
Dadeldhurā
Jumlā
Dol-po
'Nyishangba
Kaike
Seke
'Loke Tibetan
'Narpa
Khaccad Bhode
Raute
Thakali
Nupri
Tsum
Dhangadhi
Kham
Gyasumdo
Ghale
'Langthang Tibetan
Salyān
Chantyal
Gurung
Dura
Magar
Baram
Newar
Thangmi
Kusunda
Raji
Majhi
Darai
Kumale
Chepang
Tamang
KĀTHMĀNDU
Hayu
Bhairawa
Ilām
Rājbirāj
Kurux
Dhimal
Satar
Birātnagar
Lucknow
Kānpur
Chauka
Gandak
Ganges
Kosi
Allahābād
Patna
Benares
Son
Angika
Malto
Rānchi
Jabalpur
0
100
200 km
Lhasa
Xigazê
Brahmaputra
Tangam
Khamba
Indian Line
Bori
Bokar
Milang
Idu
Na
Motuo Menba
Adi
Minyong
Padam
Mra
Miju
Cho-ca-nga-ca-kha
Bumthang
Dzala
Dakpa
Brokpa
Bangni
Tagin
Galo
Pasi
Taruang
Sulung
Hill Miri
Brokkat
Dzongkha
Lakha
Kurtöp
Lishpa
Miji
Chinese Line
Tangsa
'Nyenkha
Nupbikha
Nyishi
Apatani
Tai Phake
Nocte
THIMPU
Chali
Black Mountain
Deori
Tai Nora
Konyak
Wancho
Kheng
Aka
Lepcha
Lhokpu
Gongduk
Tshangla
Khowa
Mising
Tai Rong
Phom
Cuona Menba
Bodo
Sherdukpen
Mech
Toto
Ahom
Aiton
Sangtam
Ao
Lhota
Simi
Chang
Karbi
Rengma
Khiamngan
Dispur
Angami
Yimchungru
Kurux
Rabha
Chokri
Rangpur
Koch
Mzieme
Khasi
Tiwa
Biete
Pochuri
Shillong
Zeme
Kheza
Khoirao
Kachari
Maram
Ruga
A'tong
Liangmai
Tangkhul
Taman
Mao
Nruanghmei
Andro
Kabui
Dimasa
Maring
Hmar
Bishnupriya Manipuri Creole
Meithei
Malin
Thado
Aimol
Sengmai
Ganan
Moyon
Langrong
Rājshāhi
Meghna
Hrangkhol
Paite
Anal
Chawte
Kadu
Kom
Lamgang
Koireng
Kokborok
Agartala
DHAKA
Aizawl
Mara
Gangte
Purum
Tarao
Mizo
Irrawaddy

Map 21 Indian Subcontinent

Asur (IND) 🟡
Badaga (IND) 🟡
Bawm (BGD; IND) 🟡
Bellari (IND) 🔴
Bhumji (IND) ⚪
Birhor (IND) 🔴
Chung (THA) 🔴
Danaw (MMR) 🔴
Gadaba (IND) 🔴
Geta? (IND) 🟠
Gondi (IND) ⚪
Gorum (IND) 🟡
Great andamanese (IND) 🔴
Gutob (IND) ⚪
Ho (IND) ⚪
Irula (IND) ⚪
Jarawa (IND) 🔴
Juang (IND) 🟡
Kharia (IND) ⚪
Koda (IND) ⚪
Kodagu (IND) 🟡
Kokborok (BGD; IND) ⚪
Kolami (IND) 🟡
Konda (IND) 🟡
Koraga (IND) 🔴
Korku (IND) ⚪
Korwa (IND) ⚪
Kota (IND) 🔴
Kui (IND) ⚪
Kurru (IND) 🟡
Kuruba (IND) 🔴
Kurux (IND) ⚪
Kuvi (IND) 🟡
Lamongse (IND) 🔴
Lavua (THA) 🟡
Luro (IND) 🔴
Malto (IND) 🟡
Manda (IND) 🔴
Mara (IND) 🟡
Mizo (IND) ⚪
Moklen (MMR; THA) 🟡
Mon (MMR; THA) ⚪
Mru (MMR) 🟠
Mundari (IND) ⚪
Muot (IND) 🔴
Nahali (IND) 🟡
Naiki (IND) 🔴
Nihali (IND) 🔴
Onge (IND) 🔴
Palaung (MMR) 🟠
Pale (MMR) 🟠
Parji (IND) 🔴
Pengo (IND) 🔴
Phalok (THA) ⚫
Pu (IND) 🔴
Pyu (MMR) ⚫
Remo (IND) 🟠
Riang (MMR) 🔴
Rumai (MMR) 🟠
Sak (2) (BGD; MMR) ⚪
Sanenyo (IND) 🔴
Sentilese (IND) 🔴
Shompen (IND) 🔴
Sora (IND) ⚪
Takahanyilang (IND) 🔴
Toda (IND) 🔴
Tulu (IND) ⚪
Turi (IND) 🟡
Urak Lawoi (THA) 🟡
Vedda (LKA) 🟡
Yaw (MMR) 🟡


70°E
80°E
90°E
20°N
10°N
Gandhinagar
Bhopal
Jabalpur
Surat
Mumbai
Hyderabad
Panaji
Bangalore
Chennai
Puducherry
Kochi
Kavaratti
Thiruvananthapuram
Jaffna
Kandy
COLOMBO
Kolkata
Bhubaneshwar
DHAKA
Chittagong
Mandalay
NAYPYIDAW
Yangon
Port Blair
Banda Aceh
INDIA
BANGLADESH
MYANMAR
SRI LANKA
MALDIVES
THAILAND
THA.
INDONESIA
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Indian Ocean
Andaman Sea
Strait of Malacca
Lakshadweep
Andaman Islands
Little Andaman
Nicobar Islands
Irrawaddy
Salween
Malto
Mundari
Koda
Korwa
Asur
Kurux
Kharia
Birhor
Ho
Turi
Bhumij
Juang
Nahali
Nihali
Kolami
Naiki
Korku
Gondi
Manda
Remo
Sora
Kui
Pengo
Parji
Gadaba
Kuvi
Gutob
Gorum
Geta?
Konda
Kurru
Tulu
Kodagu
Bellari
Irula
Koraga
Kota
Kuruba
Toda
Badaga
Vedda
Kokborok
Mara
Mizo
Bawm
Mru
Sak
Sak
Yaw
Rumai
Palaung
Pale
Riang
Danaw
Pyu
Phalok
Lavua
Mon
Chung
Jarawa
Great andamanese
Sentilese
Onge
Pu
Muot
Sanenyo
Luro
Lamongse
Shompen
Takahanyilang
Moklen
Urak Lawoi
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
0
200
400 km

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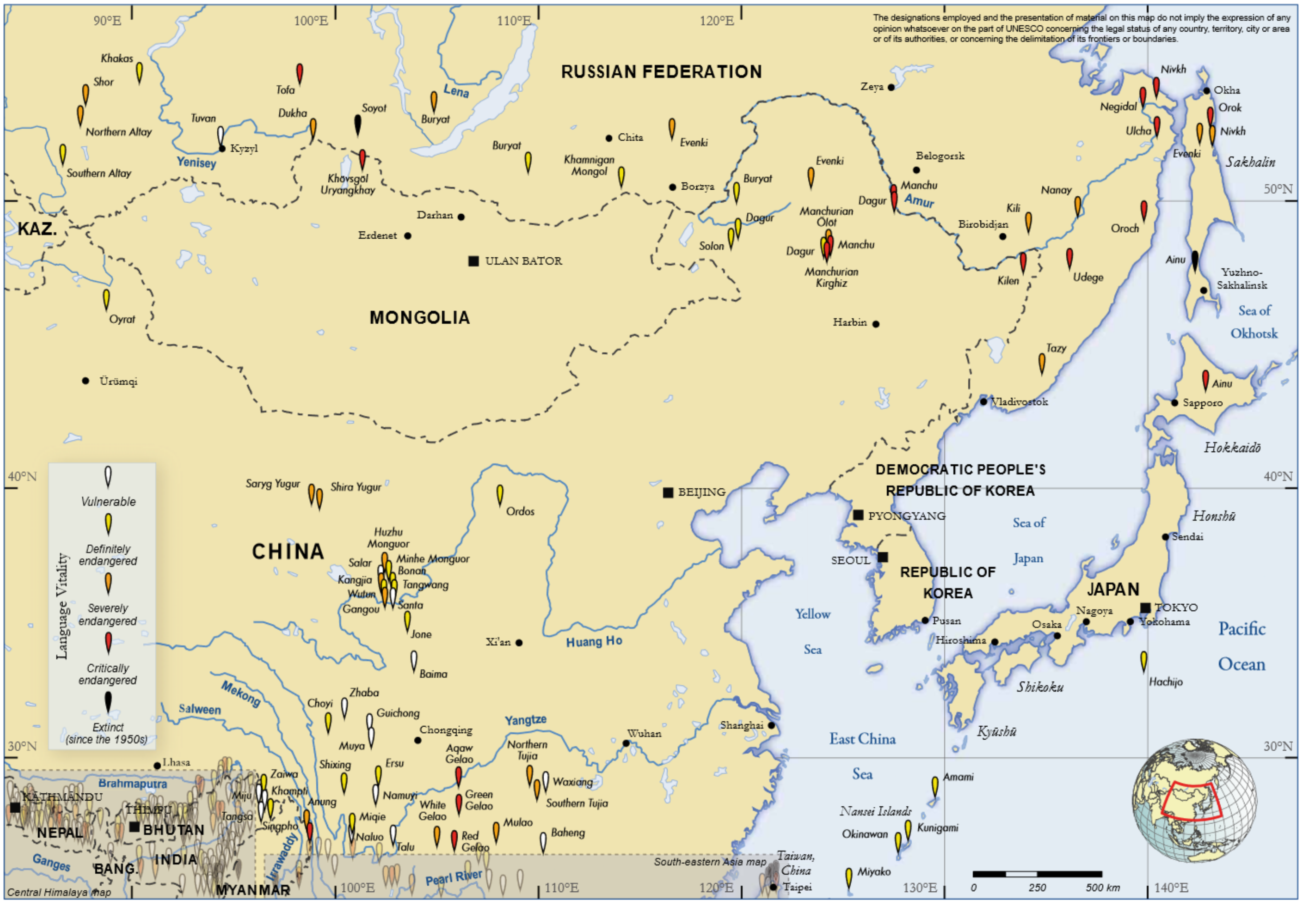
Map 22 Eastern Asia

Ainu (2) (JPN; RUS) 🔴
Amami (JPN) 🟡
Anung (2) (CHN; MMR) 🟠
Aqaw Gelao (CHN) 🔴
Baheng (CHN) ⚪
Baima (CHN) ⚪
Bonan (CHN) 🟡
Buryat (3) (CHN; MNG; RUS) 🟡
Choyi (CHN) 🟡
Dagur (3) (CHN) 🟡
Dukha (MNG) 🟠
Ersu (CHN) 🟡
Evenki (3) (CHN; MNG; RUS) 🟠
Gangou (CHN) 🟠
Green Gelao (CHN) 🔴
Guichong (CHN) ⚪
Hachijō (JPN) 🟡
Huzhu Monguor (CHN) 🟠
Jone (CHN) 🟡
Kangjia (CHN) 🟠
Khakas (RUS) 🟡
Khamnigan Mongol (CHN; MNG; RUS) 🟡
Khampti (IND) ⚪
Khövsgöl Uryangkhay (MNG) 🔴
Kilen (CHN; RUS) 🔴
Kili (RUS) 🟠
Kunigami (JPN) 🟡
Manchu (2) (CHN) 🔴
Manchurian Kirghiz (CHN) 🔴
Manchurian Ölöt (CHN) 🟠
Miju (CHN; IND) ⚪
Minhe Monguor (CHN) 🟡
Miqie (CHN) 🟡
Mulao (CHN) 🟠
Muya (CHN) ⚪
Naluo (CHN) ⚪
Namuyi (CHN) ⚪
Nanay (CHN; RUS) 🟠
Negidal (RUS) 🔴
Nivkh (2) (RUS) 🟠
Northern Altay (RUS) 🟠
Northern Tujia (CHN) 🟠
Ordos (CHN) 🟡
Oroch (RUS) 🔴
Orok (RUS) 🔴
Oyrat (CHN; KGZ; MNG) 🟡
Salar (CHN) ⚪
Santa (CHN) ⚪
Saryg Yugur (CHN) 🟠
Shira Yugur (CHN) 🟠
Shixing (CHN) 🟡
Shor (RUS) 🟠
Singpho (IND) 🟡
Solon (CHN) 🟡
Southern Altay (RUS) 🟡
Southern Tujia (CHN) 🟠
Soyot (RUS) ⚫
Talu (CHN) ⚪
Tangwang (CHN) 🟡
Tazy (RUS) 🟠
Tofa (RUS) 🔴
Tuvan (CHN; MNG; RUS) ⚪
Udege (RUS) 🔴
Ulcha (RUS) 🔴
Waxiang (CHN) ⚪
White Gelao (CHN) 🟠
Wutun (CHN) 🟡
Zaiwa (CHN; IND) 🟡
Zhaba (CHN) ⚪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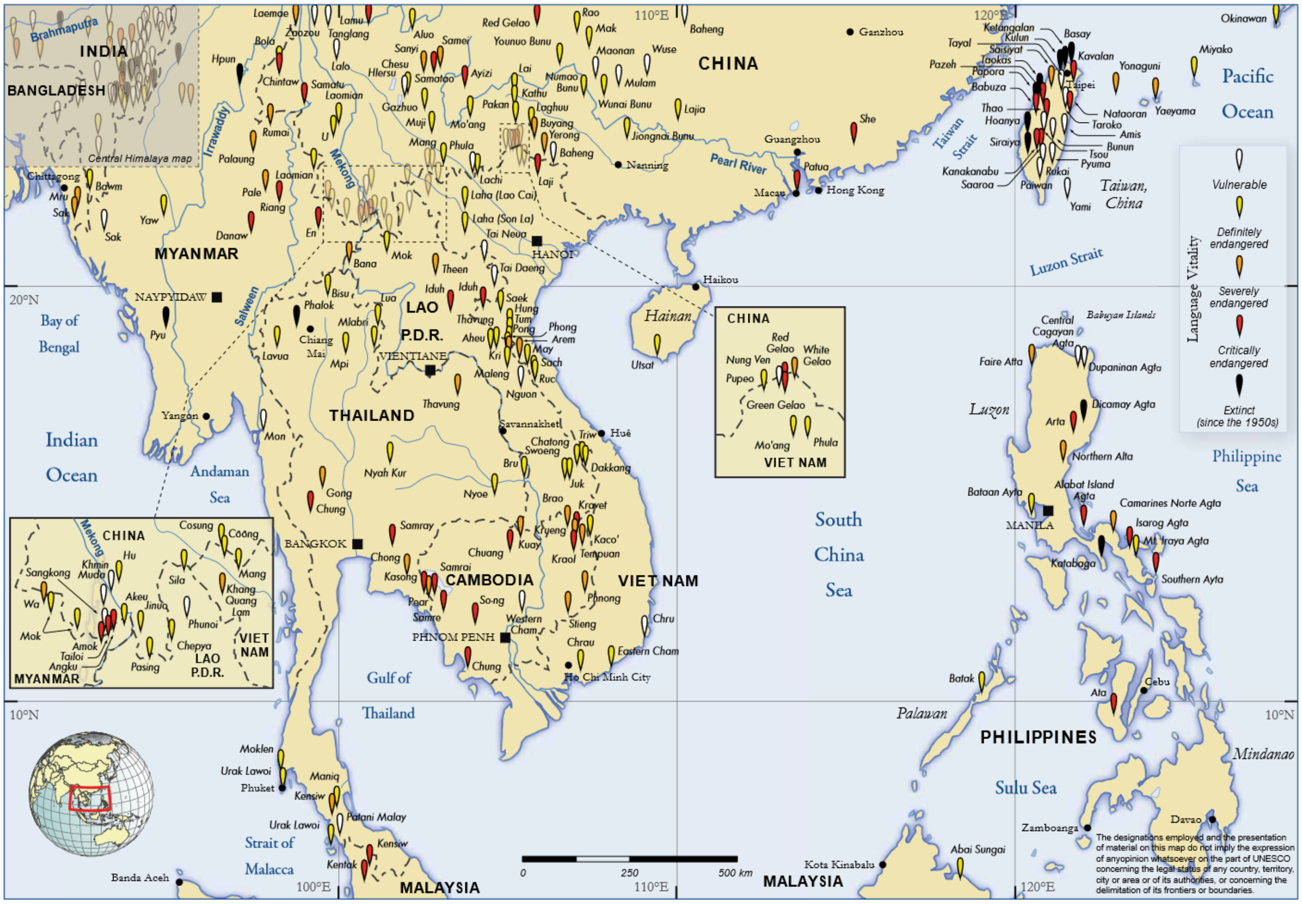
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
90°E
100°E
110°E
120°E
130°E
140°E
50°N
40°N
30°N
RUSSIAN FEDERATION
MONGOLIA
CHINA
KAZ.
DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA
REPUBLIC OF KOREA
JAPAN
NEPAL
BHUTAN
BANG.
INDIA
MYANMAR
Khakas
Shor
Northern Altay
Southern Altay
Tofa
Dukha
Tuvan
Kyzyl
Yenisey
Soyot
Buryat
Lena
Khövsgöl Uryangkhay
Darhan
Erdenet
ULAN BATOR
Buryat
Khamnigan Mongol
Chita
Evenki
Borzya
Buryat
Dagur
Solon
Evenki
Zeya
Belogorsk
Manchu
Amur
Dagur
Manchurian Ölöt
Manchu
Dagur
Manchurian Kirghiz
Birobidjan
Kili
Nanay
Kilen
Udege
Oroch
Nivkh
Negidal
Ulcha
Okha
Orok
Nivkh
Evenki
Sakhalin
Ainu
Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk
Sea of Okhotsk
Harbin
Tazy
Vladivostok
Ainu
Sapporo
Hokkaidō
Oyrat
Ürümqi
Saryg Yugur
Shira Yugur
Ordos
BEIJING
PYONGYANG
SEOUL
Sea of Japan
Honshū
Sendai
Huzhu Monguor
Minhe Monguor
Salar
Bonan
Kangjia
Tangwang
Wutun
Gangou
Santa
Jone
Baima
Xi'an
Huang Ho
Yellow Sea
Pusan
Hiroshima
Osaka
Nagoya
TOKYO
Yokohama
Pacific Ocean
Shikoku
Kyūshū
Hachijo
Mekong
Salween
Zhaba
Choyi
Guichong
Chongqing
Yangtze
Muya
Aqaw Gelao
Northern Tujia
Wuhan
Shanghai
East China Sea
Lhasa
Brahmaputra
KATHMANDU
THIMPU
Zaiwa
Khampti
Miju
Tangsa
Singpho
Anung
Shixing
Ersu
Namuyi
Miqie
Naluo
Talu
White Gelao
Green Gelao
Red Gelao
Mulao
Waxiang
Southern Tujia
Baheng
Amami
Nansei Islands
Kunigami
Okinawan
Miyako
Ganges
Irrawaddy
Pearl River
Central Himalaya map
South-eastern Asia map
Taiwan, China
Taipei
0
250
500 km

Map 23 South-eastern Asia

Abai Sungai (MYS) 🟡
Aheu (LAO) 🟡
Akeu (LAO; MMR; THA) 🟡
Alabat Island Agta (PHL) 🔴
Aluo (CHN) 🟡
Amis (CHN) ⚪
Amok (MMR) 🔴
Angku (MMR) 🔴
Arem (LAO; VNM) 🟠
Arta (PHL) 🔴
Ata (PHL) 🔴
Ayizi (CHN) 🔴
Babuza (CHN) ⚫
Baheng (2) (CHN; VNM) ⚪
Bana (LAO) 🟠
Basay (CHN) ⚫
Bataan Ayta (PHL) 🟡
Batak (PHL) 🟡
Bawm (BGD; IND) 🟡
Bisu (MMR; THA) 🟡
Bola (CHN) 🟡
Brao (KHM; LAO; VNM) 🟠
Bru (THA) 🟡
Bunun (CHN) ⚪
Buyang (CHN) 🟠
Camarines Norte Agta (PHL) 🟠
Central Cagayan Agta (PHL) ⚪
Chatong (LAO) 🟡
Chepya (LAO) 🟡
Chesu (CHN) 🟡
Chintaw (CHN) 🔴
Chong (KHM; THA) 🟠
Chrau (VNM) 🟡
Chru (VNM) ⚪
Chuang (KHM) 🔴
Chung (2) (KHM; THA) 🔴
Côông (VNM) 🟡
Cosung (2) (CHN; VNM) 🟡
Dakkang (LAO) 🟡
Danaw (MMR) 🔴
Dicamay Agta (PHL) ⚫
Dupaninan Agta (PHL) ⚪
Eastern Cham (VNM) 🟡
En (MMR) 🔴
Faire Atta (PHL) 🟠
Gazhuo (CHN) 🟡
Gong (THA) 🟠
Green Gelao (VNM) 🔴
Hlersu (CHN) ⚪
Hoanya (CHN) ⚫
Hpun (MMR) ⚫
Hu (CHN) 🟡
Hung (LAO; VNM) 🟡
Iduh (2) (LAO; VNM) 🔴
Isarog Agta (PHL) 🔴
Jahai (MYS) 🔴
Jinuo (CHN) 🟡
Jiongnai Bunu (CHN) 🟡
Juk (LAO) 🟡
Kaco' (KHM) 🟡
Kanakanabu (CHN) 🔴
Kasong (KHM; THA) 🔴
Katabaga (PHL) ⚫
Kathu (CHN) 🟡
Kavalan (CHN) 🔴
Kensiw (2) (MYS; THA) 🟠
Kentak (MYS) 🔴
Ketangalan (CHN) ⚫
Khang Quang Lam (VNM) 🟠
Khmin (CHN) ⚪
Kraol (KHM) 🔴
Kravet (KHM) 🔴
Kri (LAO) 🟠
Krueng (KHM) 🟠
Kuay (KHM) 🟠
Kulun (CHN) ⚫
Lachi (VNM) 🟡
Laemae (CHN) 🟠
Laghuu (VNM) 🟡
Laha (2) (VNM) 🟡
Lai (CHN) 🟡
Laji (CHN) 🔴
Lajia (CHN) 🟡
Lalo (CHN) ⚪
Lamongse (IND) 🔴
Lamu (CHN) 🔴
Lanoh (MYS) 🔴
Laomian (2) (CHN; MMR) 🟡
Lavua (THA) 🟡
Lua (THA) 🟡
Mak (CHN) 🟡
Maleng (LAO) 🟡
Mang (2) (CHN; VNM) 🟡
Maniq (THA) 🟡
Maonan (CHN) ⚪
May (LAO; VNM) 🟡
Miyako (JPN) 🟡
Mlabri (LAO; THA) 🟡
Mo'ang (2) (CHN; VNM) 🟡
Mok (3) (CHN; LAO; MMR; THA) 🟡
Moklen (MMR; THA) 🟡
Mon (MMR; THA) ⚪
Mpi (THA) 🟡
Mru (MMR) 🟠
Mt. Iraya Agta (PHL) 🟡
Muda (CHN) ⚪
Muji (CHN) 🟡
Mulam (CHN) ⚪
Nataoran (CHN) 🔴
Nguon (VNM) ⚪
Northern Alta (PHL) 🟠
Numao Bunu (CHN) 🟡
Nung Ven (VNM) ⚪
Nyah Kur (THA) 🟡
Nyoe (THA) 🟡
Okinawan (JPN) 🟡
Paiwan (CHN) ⚪
Pakan (CHN) 🟡
Palaung (MMR) 🟠
Pale (MMR) 🟠
Papora (CHN) ⚫
Pasing (LAO) 🟡
Patani Malay (THA) ⚪
Patua (CHN) 🔴
Pazeh (CHN) 🔴
Pear (KHM) 🟠
Phalok (THA) ⚫
Phnong (KHM) 🟠
Phong (LAO) 🟡
Phula (2) (CHN; VNM) ⚪
Phunoi (LAO) ⚪
Pong (LAO) 🟡
Pupeo (CHN) 🟡
Pyu (MMR) ⚫
Pyuma (CHN) ⚪
Rao (CHN) 🟡
Red Gelao (2) (CHN; VNM) 🔴
Riang (MMR) 🔴
Ruc (LAO; VNM) 🟡
Rukai (CHN) ⚪
Rumai (MMR) 🟠
Saaroa (CHN) 🔴
Sach (LAO; VNM) 🟡
Saek (LAO; THA) 🟡
Saisiyat (CHN) 🟠
Sak (2) (BGD; MMR) ⚪
Samatao (CHN) 🔴
Samatu (CHN) 🔴
Samei (CHN) 🟠
Samrai (KHM) 🔴
Samray (KHM; THA) 🔴
Samre (KHM) 🔴
Sangkong (CHN) ⚪
Sanyi (CHN) 🟠
She (CHN) 🔴
Sila (LAO; VNM) 🟡
Siraiya (CHN) ⚫
So-ng (KHM) 🔴
Southern Ayta (PHL) 🔴
Stieng (KHM) 🟠
Swoeng (LAO) 🟡
Tai Daeng (LAO; VNM) ⚪
Tai Neua (LAO) ⚪
Tailoi (MMR) 🔴
Tanglang (CHN) ⚪
Taokas (CHN) ⚫
Taroko (CHN) ⚪
Tayal (CHN) ⚪
Tempuan (KHM) 🟠
Thao (CHN) 🔴
Thavung (2) (LAO; THA) 🟡
Theen (LAO) 🟠
Triw (LAO) 🟡
Tsou (CHN) ⚪
Tum (LAO) 🟡
U (CHN) 🟡
Urak Lawoi (2) (MYS; THA) 🟡
Utsat (CHN) 🟡
Wa (MMR) 🟠
Western Cham (KHM) ⚪
White Gelao (VNM) 🟠
Wunai Bunu (CHN) 🟡
Wuse (CHN) ⚪
Yaeyama (JPN) 🟠
Yami (CHN) ⚪
Yaw (MMR) 🟡
Yerong (CHN) 🟠
Yonaguni (JPN) 🟠
Younuo Bunu (CHN) 🟡
Zaozou (CHN) ⚪


Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
INDIA
BANGLADESH
Brahmaputra
Central Himalaya map
CHINA
MYANMAR
THAILAND
LAO P.D.R.
CAMBODIA
VIET NAM
PHILIPPINES
MALAYSIA
Taiwan, China
Hainan
Luzon
Palawan
Mindanao
Bay of Bengal
Indian Ocean
Andaman Sea
Gulf of Thailand
Strait of Malacca
South China Sea
Sulu Sea
Philippine Sea
Pacific Ocean
Luzon Strait
Taiwan Strait
Babuyan Islands
Irrawaddy
Salween
Mekong
Pearl River
NAYPYIDAW
VIENTIANE
BANGKOK
PHNOM PENH
HANOI
MANILA
Yangon
Chiang Mai
Savannakhet
Huê
Ho Chi Minh City
Ganzhou
Guangzhou
Nanning
Hong Kong
Macau
Haikou
Taipei
Cebu
Davao
Zamboanga
Kota Kinabalu
Phuket
Banda Aceh
Chittagong
20°N
10°N
100°E
110°E
120°E
0
250
500 km
Laemae
Lamu
Zaozou
Tanglang
Bola
Aluo
Samei
Sanyi
Red Gelao
Younuo Bunu
Rao
Mak
Maonan
Wuse
Baheng
Hpun
Chintaw
Lalo
Chesu
Hlersu
Samatao
Ayizi
Samatu
Laomian
Gazhuo
Muji
Mo'ang
Mang
Phula
Lai
Kathu
Numao Bunu
Mulam
Wunai Bunu
Lajia
Pakan
Laghuu
Buyang
Yerong
Baheng
Jiongnai Bunu
Rumai
Palaung
U
Lachi
Laji
Laha (Lao Cai)
Laha (Son La)
Tai Neua
She
Patua
Bawm
Mru
Sak
Pale
Riang
Laomian
Yaw
Danaw
En
Bana
Mok
Theen
Tai Daeng
Iduh
Saek
Hung
Tum
Pong
Phong
Arem
May
Sach
Ruc
Bisu
Lua
Phalok
Mlabri
Thavung
Aheu
Kri
Maleng
Nguon
Pyu
Lavua
Mpi
Thavung
Mon
Nyah Kur
Chatong
Swoeng
Triw
Bru
Dakkang
Juk
Gong
Chung
Nyoe
Brao
Kravet
Samray
Kryeng
Kaco'
Kuay
Chong
Chuang
Kraol
Tampuan
Kasong
Samrai
Pear
Samre
So-ng
Phnong
Western Cham
Stieng
Chru
Chrau
Eastern Cham
Chung
Utsat
Nung Ven
Red Gelao
White Gelao
Pupeo
Green Gelao
Mo'ang
Phula
Cosung
Côông
Sangkong
Khmin
Muda
Hu
Sila
Mang
Akeu
Jinuo
Khang
Quang Lam
Wa
Phunoi
Mok
Amok
Taikoi
Angku
Chepya
Pasing
Moklen
Urak Lawoi
Maniq
Kensiw
Urak Lawoi
Patani Malay
Kensiw
Kentak
Ketangalan
Kulun
Saisiyat
Taokas
Papora
Babuza
Thao
Hoanya
Siraya
Kanakanabu
Saaroa
Tayal
Pazeh
Basay
Kavalan
Nataoran
Taroko
Amis
Bunun
Tsou
Pyuma
Rukai
Paiwan
Yami
Yonaguni
Yaeyama
Miyako
Okinawan
Central Cagayan Agta
Faire Atta
Dupaninan Agta
Dicamay Agta
Arta
Northern Alta
Alabat Island Agta
Bataan Ayta
Camarines Norte Agta
Isarog Agta
Mt. Iraya Agta
Katabaga
Southern Ayta
Batak
Ata
Abai Sungai

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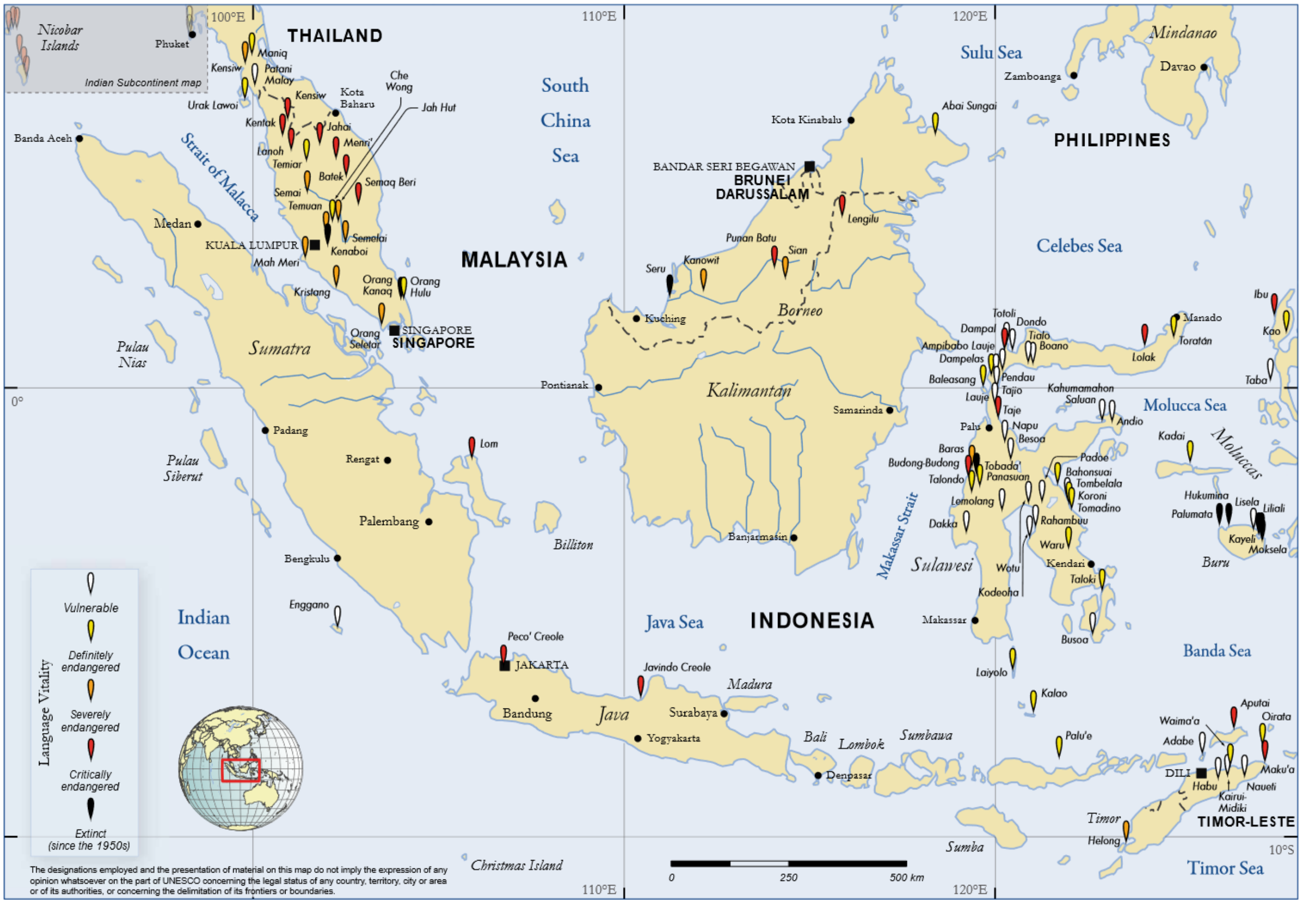
Map 24 Western Austronesia

Abai Sungai (MYS) 🟡
Adabe (TLS) ⚪
Ampibabo Lauje (IDN) ⚪
Andio (IDN) ⚪
Aputai (IDN) 🔴
Bahonsuai (IDN) 🟡
Baleasang (IDN) 🟡
Baras (IDN) 🟠
Batek (MYS) 🔴
Besoa (IDN) ⚪
Boano (IDN) ⚪
Budong-Budong (IDN) 🔴
Busoa (IDN) ⚪
Che Wong (MYS) 🟡
Dakka (IDN) ⚪
Dampal (IDN) 🔴
Dampelas (IDN) 🟡
Dondo (IDN) ⚪
Enggano (IDN) ⚪
Habu (TLS) ⚪
Helong (IDN) 🟠
Hukumina (IDN) ⚫
Ibu (IDN) 🔴
Jah Hut (MYS) 🟠
Jahai (MYS) 🔴
Javindo Creole (IDN) 🔴
Kadai (IDN) 🟡
Kahumamahon Saluan (IDN) ⚪
Kairui-Midiki (TLS) ⚪
Kalao (IDN) 🟡
Kanowit (MYS) 🟠
Kao (IDN) 🟡
Kayeli (IDN) ⚫
Kenaboi (MYS) ⚫
Kensiw (2) (MYS; THA) 🟠
Kentak (MYS) 🔴
Kodeoha (IDN) ⚪
Koroni (IDN) 🟡
Kristang (MYS) 🟠
Laiyolo (IDN) 🟡
Lanoh (MYS) 🔴
Lauje (IDN) ⚪
Lemolang (IDN) ⚪
Lengilu (IDN) 🔴
Liliali (IDN) ⚫
Lisela (IDN) ⚪
Lolak (IDN) 🔴
Lom (IDN) 🔴
Mah Meri (MYS) 🟠
Maku'a (TLS) 🔴
Maniq (THA) 🟡
Menri' (MYS) 🔴
Moksela (IDN) ⚫
Napu (IDN) ⚪
Naueti (TLS) ⚪
Oirata (IDN) 🟡
Orang Hulu (MYS) 🟡
Orang Kanaq (MYS) ⚫
Orang Seletar (MYS) 🟠
Padoe (IDN) ⚪
Palu'e (IDN) 🟡
Palumata (IDN) ⚫
Panasuan (IDN) 🟡
Patani Malay (THA) ⚪
Peco' Creole (IDN) 🔴
Pendau (IDN) ⚪
Punan Batu (MYS) 🔴
Rahambuu (IDN) ⚪
Semai (MYS) 🟠
Semaq Beri (MYS) 🔴
Semelai (MYS) 🟠
Seru (MYS) ⚫
Sian (MYS) 🟠
Taba (IDN) ⚪
Taje (IDN) 🔴
Tajio (IDN) ⚪
Taloki (IDN) 🟡
Talondo (IDN) 🟡
Temiar (MYS) 🟡
Temuan (MYS) 🟠
Tialo (IDN) ⚪
Tobada' (IDN) ⚫
Tomadino (IDN) 🟡
Tombelala (IDN) ⚪
Toratán (IDN) 🟡
Totoli (IDN) ⚪
Urak Lawoi (MYS) 🟡
Waima'a (TLS) 🟡
Waru (IDN) 🟡
Wotu (IDN) ⚪


Nicobar Islands
Phuket
Indian Subcontinent map
100°E
110°E
120°E
0°
10°S
THAILAND
Maniq
Kensiw
Patani Malay
Urak Lawoi'
Kensiw
Kota Baharu
Che Wong
Jah Hut
Kentak
Jahai
Lanoh
Menri'
Temiar
Batek
Semaq Beri
Semai
Temuan
Semelai
Kenaboi
KUALA LUMPUR
Mah Meri
Kristang
Orang Kanaq
Orang Hulu
Orang Seletar
SINGAPORE
SINGAPORE
Banda Aceh
Medan
Strait of Malacca
South China Sea
MALAYSIA
Pulau Nias
Sumatra
Padang
Pulau Siberut
Rengat
Lom
Palembang
Billiton
Bengkulu
Enggano
Indian Ocean
Peco' Creole
JAKARTA
Bandung
Java
Javindo Creole
Madura
Surabaya
Yogyakarta
Java Sea
INDONESIA
Bali
Lombok
Sumbawa
Denpasar
Christmas Island
Pontianak
Kuching
Seru
Kanowit
Punan Batu
Sian
Borneo
Kalimantan
Banjarmasin
Samarinda
BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN
BRUNEI DARUSSALAM
Lengilu
Kota Kinabalu
Abai Sungai
Sulu Sea
Zamboanga
Mindanao
Davao
PHILIPPINES
Celebes Sea
Makassar Strait
Sulawesi
Totoli
Dondo
Dampal
Tialo
Ampibabo Lauje
Boano
Dampelas
Baleasang
Pendau
Tajio
Lauje
Taje
Palu
Napu
Besoa
Baras
Budong-Budong
Tobada'
Panasuan
Talondo
Lemolang
Padoe
Bahonsuai
Tombelala
Koroni
Tomadino
Dakka
Rahambuu
Waru
Wotu
Kendari
Taloki
Kodeoha
Makassar
Busoa
Laiyolo
Kalao
Lolak
Manado
Toratán
Kahumamahon
Saluan
Andio
Ibu
Kao
Taba
Molucca Sea
Moluccas
Kadai
Hukumina
Palumata
Lisela
Liliali
Kayeli
Moksela
Buru
Banda Sea
Palu'e
Aputai
Oirata
Waima'a
Adabe
DILI
Maku'a
Habu
Naueti
Kairui-Midiki
TIMOR-LESTE
Timor
Helong
Sumba
Timor Sea
0
250
500 km
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)

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Map 25 New Guinea

Abaga (PNG) 🟥
Ainba (PNG) 🟧
Ak (PNG) 🟧
Alune (IDN) ⬜
Amahai (IDN) 🟥
Anuki (PNG) 🟨
Anus (IDN) 🟧
Arawun (PNG) 🟧
Arguni (IDN) ⬜
Ari (PNG) 🟧
Aribwatsa (PNG) ⬛
As (IDN) ⬜
Atemble (PNG) 🟨
Auye (IDN) ⬜
Awera (IDN) ⬜
Awyi (IDN) ⬜
Bagupi (PNG) 🟨
Bedoanas (IDN) ⬜
Benggoi (IDN) 🟨
Bepour (PNG) 🟧
Biak (IDN) ⬜
Bikaru (PNG) 🟧
Bilakura (PNG) 🟥
Bina (PNG) ⬛
Bonerif (IDN) 🟥
Bonggo (IDN) 🟧
Bosilewa (PNG) ⬜
Bothar (PNG) 🟧
Budibud (PNG) ⬜
Bukiyip (PNG) ⬜
Bulgebi (PNG) 🟨
Bumbita Arapesh (PNG) ⬜
Burate (IDN) 🟧
Dabra (IDN) ⬜
Damal (IDN) ⬜

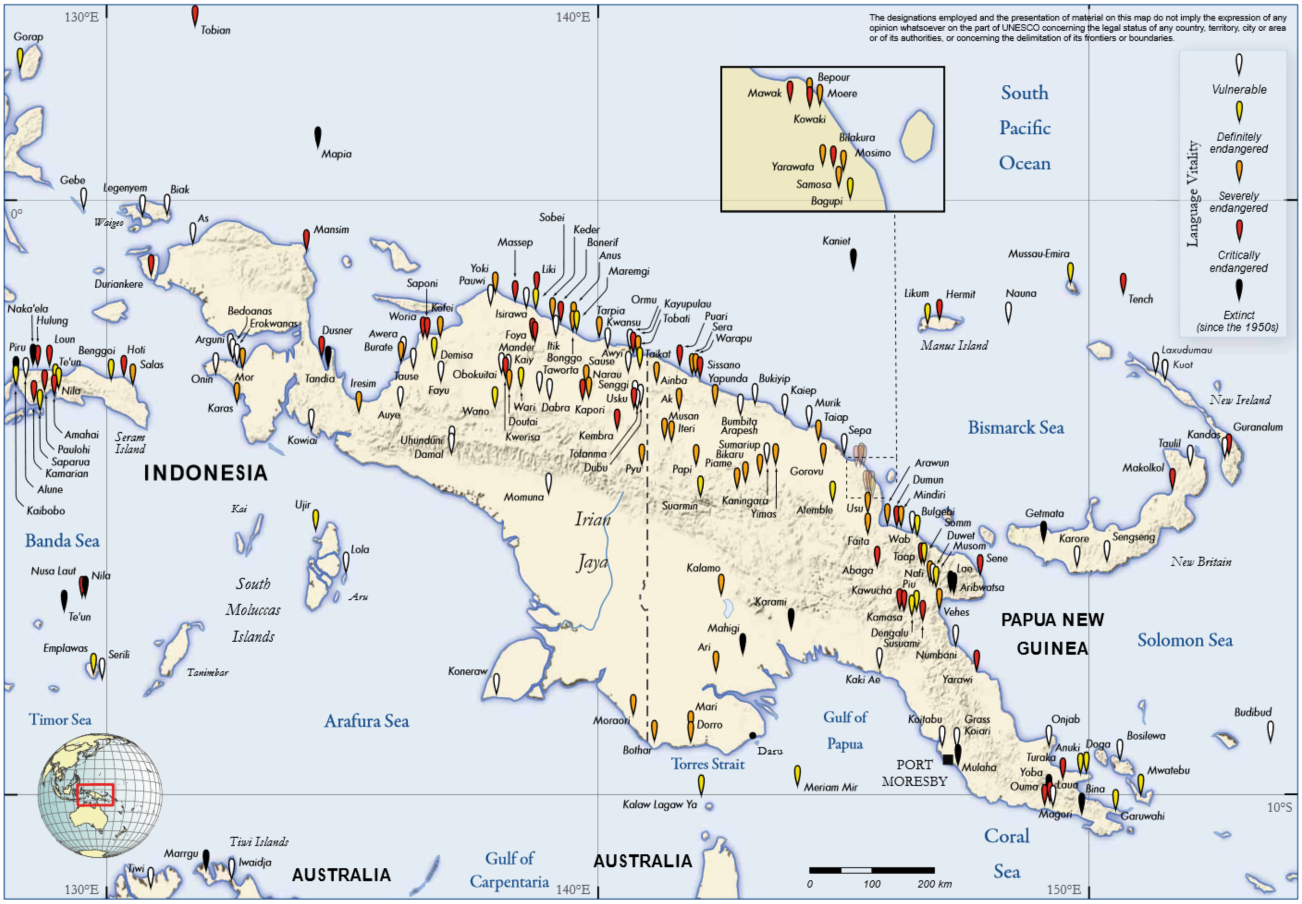
Demisa (IDN) 🟨
Dengalu (PNG) 🟨
Doga (PNG) 🟨
Dorro (PNG) 🟧
Doutai (IDN) 🟧
Dubu (IDN) ⬜
Dumun (PNG) 🟥
Duriankere (IDN) 🟥
Dusner (IDN) 🟥
Duwet (PNG) ⬜
Emplawas (IDN) 🟨
Erokwanas (IDN) ⬜
Faita (PNG) 🟧
Fayu (IDN) ⬜
Foya (IDN) 🟥
Garuwahi (PNG) 🟨
Gebe (IDN) ⬜
Getmata (PNG) ⬛
Gorap (IDN) 🟨
Gorovu (PNG) 🟧
Grass Koiari (PNG) ⬜
Guranalum (PNG) 🟥
Hermit (PNG) 🟥
Hoti (IDN) 🟥
Hulung (IDN) 🟥
Iresim (IDN) 🟧
Isirawa (IDN) ⬜
Iteri (PNG) 🟧
Itik (IDN) ⬜
Iwaidja (AUS) ⬜
Kaibobo (IDN) 🟨
Kaiep (PNG) ⬜
Kaiy (IDN) ⬜
Kaki Ae (PNG) ⬜
Kalamo (PNG) 🟧

Kalaw Lagaw Ya (AUS) 🟨
Kamarian (IDN) 🟥
Kamasa (PNG) 🟥
Kandas (PNG) ⬜
Kaniet (PNG) ⬛
Kaningara (PNG) ⬜
Kapori (IDN) 🟥
Karami (PNG) ⬛
Karas (IDN) 🟧
Karore (PNG) ⬜
Kawucha (PNG) 🟥
Kayupulau (IDN) 🟥
Keder (IDN) 🟧
Kembra (IDN) 🟥
Kofei (IDN) 🟧
Koitabu (PNG) ⬜
Koneraw (IDN) ⬜
Kowaki (PNG) 🟥
Kowiai (IDN) ⬜
Kuot (PNG) ⬜
Kwansu (IDN) ⬜
Kwerisa (IDN) 🟥
Lae (PNG) ⬛
Laua (PNG) 🟥
Laxudumau (PNG) ⬜
Legenyem (IDN) ⬜
Liki (IDN) 🟥
Likum (PNG) 🟨
Lola (IDN) ⬜
Loun (IDN) 🟥
Magori (PNG) ⬜
Mahigi (PNG) ⬛
Makolkol (PNG) 🟥
Mander (IDN) 🟥
Mansim (IDN) 🟥

Mapia (IDN) ⬛
Maremgi (IDN) 🟨
Mari (PNG) 🟧
Marrgu (AUS) ⬛
Massep (IDN) 🟥
Mawak (PNG) 🟥
Meriam Mir (AUS) 🟨
Mindiri (PNG) 🟧
Moere (PNG) 🟧
Momuna (IDN) ⬜
Mor (IDN) 🟧
Moraori (IDN) 🟧
Mosimo (PNG) 🟧
Mulaha (PNG) ⬛
Murik (PNG) ⬜
Musan (PNG) 🟧
Musom (PNG) 🟨
Mussau-Emira (PNG) 🟨
Mwatebu (PNG) 🟨
Nafi (PNG) 🟧
Naka’ela (IDN) ⬛
Narau (IDN) 🟧
Nauna (PNG) ⬜
Nila (2) (IDN) 🟨
Numbani (PNG) ⬜
Nusa Laut (IDN) 🟥
Obokuitai (IDN) ⬜
Onin (IDN) ⬜
Onjab (PNG) ⬜
Ormu (IDN) ⬜
Ouma (PNG) 🟥
Papi (PNG) 🟧
Paulohi (IDN) 🟥
Pauwi (IDN) ⬜
Piame (PNG) 🟧

Piru (IDN) ⬛
Piu (PNG) 🟨
Puari (PNG) 🟥
Pyu (IDN) 🟧
Salas (IDN) 🟧
Samosa (PNG) 🟧
Saparua (IDN) 🟨
Saponi (IDN) 🟥
Sause (IDN) 🟧
Sene (PNG) 🟥
Senggi (IDN) ⬜
Sengseng (PNG) ⬜
Sepa (PNG) ⬜
Sera (PNG) 🟧
Serili (IDN) ⬜
Sissano (PNG) 🟥
Sobei (IDN) 🟨
Somm (PNG) 🟨
Suarmin (PNG) 🟨
Sumariup (PNG) 🟧
Susuami (PNG) 🟥
Taap (PNG) 🟥
Taiap (PNG) 🟧
Taikat (IDN) 🟨
Tandia (IDN) ⬛
Tarpia (IDN) 🟧
Taulil (PNG) ⬜
Tause (IDN) ⬜
Taworta (IDN) ⬜
Te’un (2) (IDN) 🟨
Tench (PNG) 🟥
Tiwi (AUS) ⬜
Tobati (IDN) 🟧
Tobian (PLW) 🟥
Tofanma (IDN) ⬜

Turaka (PNG) 🟥
Uhunduni (IDN) ⬜
Ujir (IDN) 🟨
Usku (IDN) 🟥
Usu (PNG) 🟧
Vehes (PNG) 🟧
Wab (PNG) ⬜
Wano (IDN) 🟨
Warapu (PNG) 🟧
Wari (IDN) 🟨
Woria (IDN) 🟥
Yapunda (PNG) 🟧
Yarawata (PNG) 🟧
Yarawi (PNG) 🟥
Yimas (PNG) 🟧
Yoba (PNG) ⬛
Yoki (IDN) 🟧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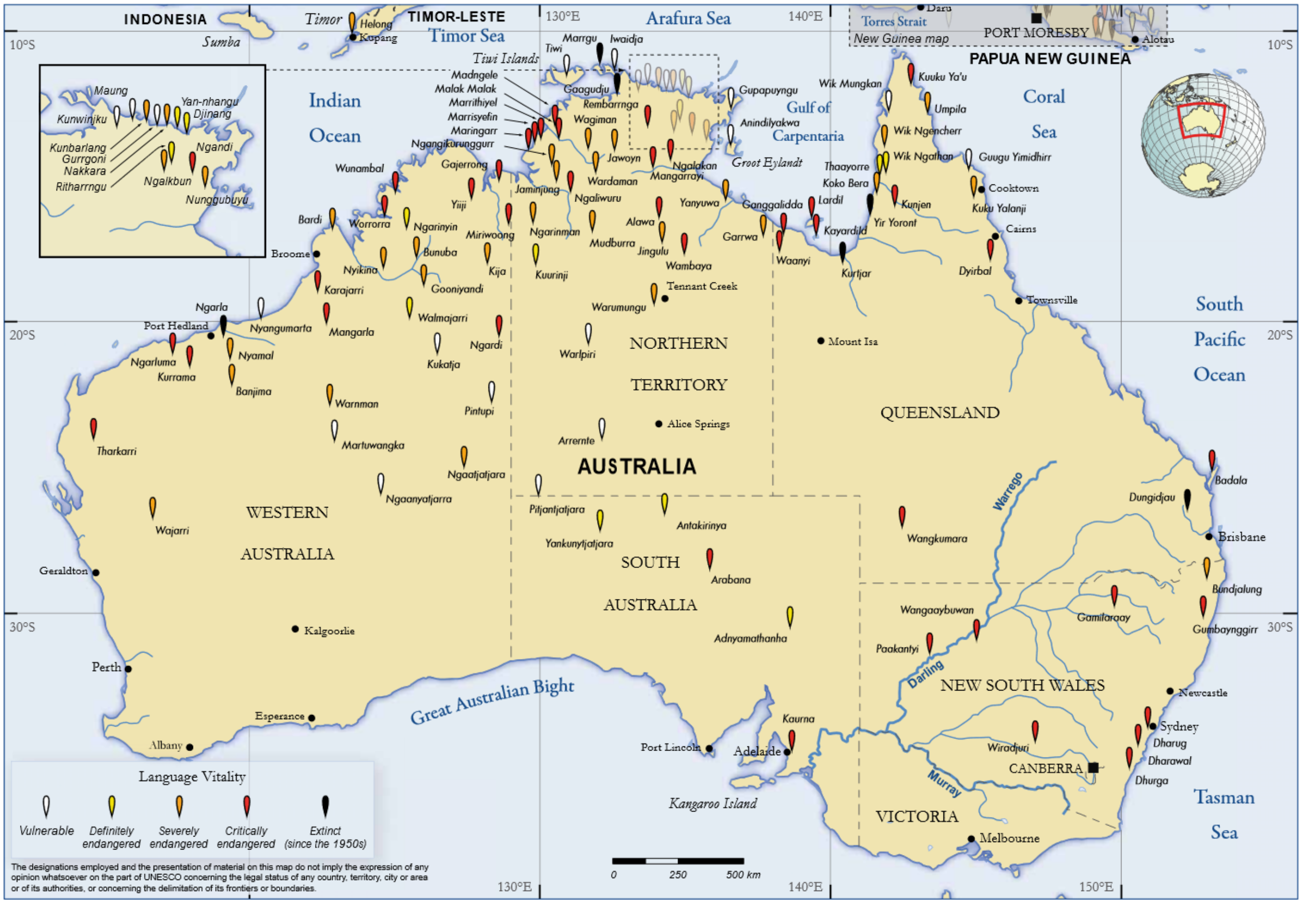
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
130°E
140°E
150°E
0°
10°S
Gorap
Tobian
Mapia
Gebe
Legenyem
Biak
Waigeo
As
Mansim
Duriankere
Naka'ela
Hulung
Loun
Piru
Te'un
Benggoi
Hoti
Salas
Nila
Amahai
Paulohi
Saparua
Kamarian
Alune
Kaibobo
Seram Island
Bedoanas
Erokwanas
Arguni
Onin
Mor
Karas
Dusner
Tandia
Kowiai
INDONESIA
Banda Sea
Kai
Ujir
Lola
Aru
South Moluccas Islands
Nusa Laut
Nila
Te'un
Emplawas
Serili
Tanimbar
Timor Sea
Arafura Sea
Sobei
Massep
Keder
Bonerif
Anus
Maremgi
Yoki
Pauwi
Liki
Saponi
Kofei
Woria
Isirawa
Awera
Burate
Iresim
Tause
Demisa
Foya
Mander
Kaiy
Itik
Bonggo
Taworta
Obokuitai
Fayu
Auye
Wano
Wari
Dabra
Doutai
Kwerisa
Kapori
Uhunduni
Damal
Tarpia
Kwansu
Awyi
Sause
Narau
Senggi
Usku
Ormu
Kayupulau
Tobati
Puari
Sera
Warapu
Taikat
Sissano
Ainba
Ak
Yapunda
Bukiyip
Kaiep
Musan
Iteri
Bumbita
Arapesh
Sumariup
Bikaru
Piame
Papi
Kembra
Tofanma
Dubu
Pyu
Momuna
Irian Jaya
Suarmin
Kaningara
Yimas
Gorovu
Murik
Taiap
Sepa
Alemble
Usu
Arawum
Dumun
Mindiri
Bulgebi
Somm
Duwet
Musom
Faita
Wab
Taap
Abaga
Nafi
Piu
Lae
Sene
Aribwatsa
Kawucha
Vehes
Kamasa
Dengalu
Susuami
Numbani
Yarawi
Kaki Ae
Kalamo
Karami
Mahigi
Ari
Koneraw
Moraori
Bothar
Mari
Dorro
Daru
Torres Strait
Meriam Mir
Kalaw Lagaw Ya
Gulf of Papua
Koitabu
Grass Koiari
Mulaha
PORT MORESBY
Onjab
Anuki
Doga
Turaka
Yoba
Ouma
Laua
Bina
Magori
Garuwahi
Bosilewa
Mwatebu
Budibud
Coral Sea
Solomon Sea
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
Mawak
Bepour
Moere
Kowaki
Bilakura
Mosimo
Yarawata
Samosa
Bagupi
South Pacific Ocean
Kaniet
Mussau-Emira
Tench
Likum
Hermit
Nauna
Manus Island
Laxudumau
Kuot
New Ireland
Guranalum
Kandas
Tiulil
Makolkol
Bismarck Sea
Getmata
Karore
Sengseng
New Britain
Marrgu
Tiwi
Iwaidja
Tiwi Islands
AUSTRALIA
Gulf of Carpentaria
AUSTRALIA
0
100
200 km

Map 26 Australia

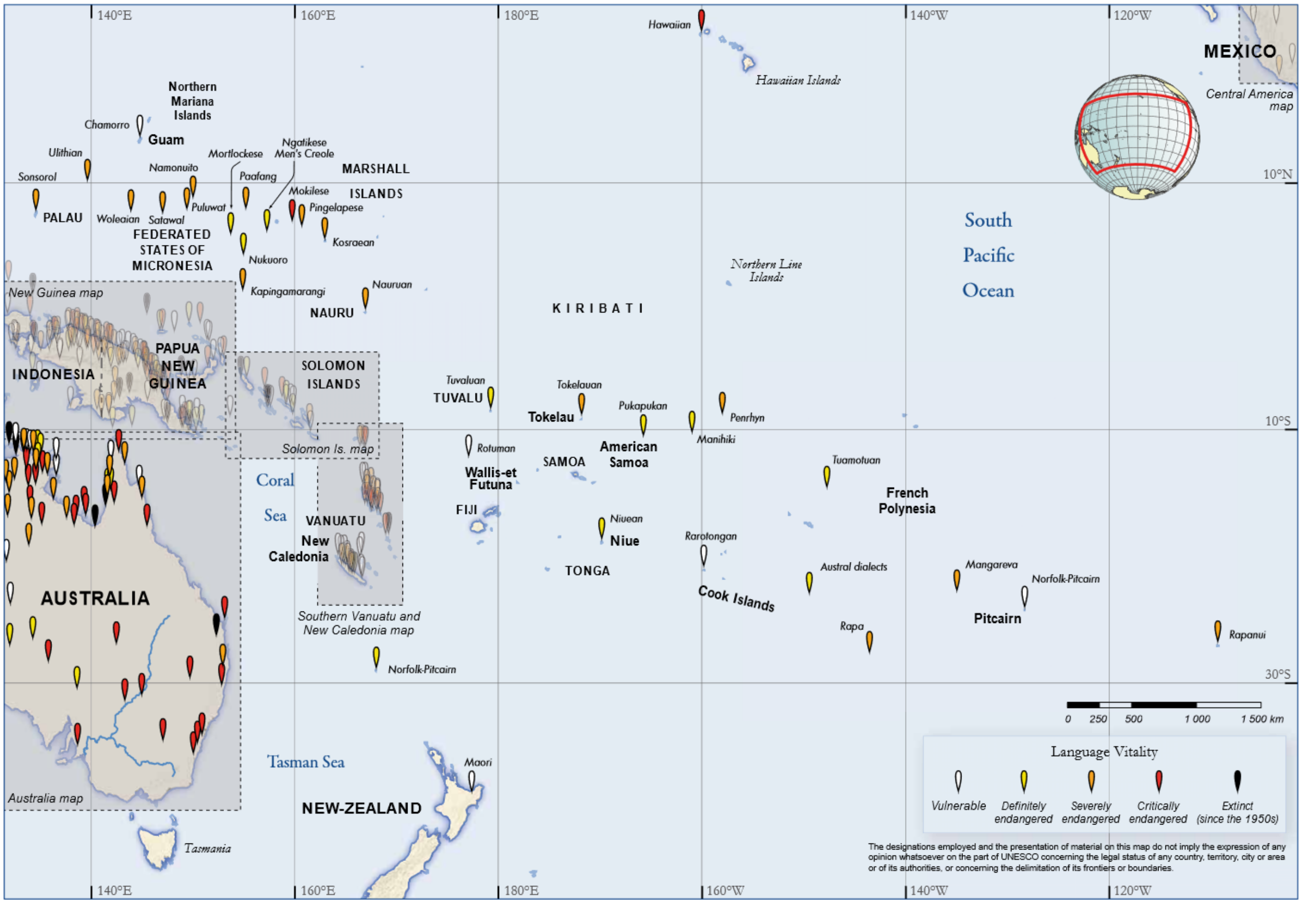
Adnyamathanha (AUS) 🟡
Alawa (AUS) 🔴
Anindilyakwa (AUS) ⚪
Antakirinya (AUS) 🟡
Arabana (AUS) 🔴
Arrernte (AUS) ⚪
Badala (AUS) 🔴
Banjima (AUS) 🟠
Bardi (AUS) 🟠
Bundjalung (AUS) 🟠
Bunuba (AUS) 🟠
Dharawal (AUS) 🔴
Dharug (AUS) 🔴
Dhurga (AUS) 🔴
Djinang (AUS) 🟡
Dungidjau (AUS) ⚫
Dyirbal (AUS) 🔴
Gaagudju (AUS) ⚫
Gajerrong (AUS) 🔴
Gamilaraay (AUS) 🔴
Ganggalidda (AUS) 🔴
Garrwa (AUS) 🟠
Gooniyandi (AUS) 🟠
Gumbaynggirr (AUS) 🔴
Gupapuyngu (AUS) ⚪
Gurrgoni (AUS) ⚪
Guugu Yimidhirr (AUS) ⚪
Helong (IDN) 🟠
Jaminjung (AUS) 🟠
Jawoyn (AUS) 🟠
Jingulu (AUS) 🟠
Karajarri (AUS) 🔴
Kaurna (AUS) 🔴
Kayardild (AUS) 🔴
Kija (AUS) 🟠
Koko Bera (AUS) 🟠
Kukatja (AUS) ⚪
Kuku Yalanji (AUS) 🟠
Kunbarlang (AUS) 🟠
Kunjen (AUS) 🔴
Kunwinjku (AUS) ⚪
Kurrama (AUS) 🔴
Kurtjar (AUS) ⚫
Kuuku Ya'u (AUS) 🔴
Kuurinji (AUS) 🟡
Lardil (AUS) 🔴
Madngele (AUS) 🔴
Malak Malak (AUS) 🔴
Mangarla (AUS) 🔴
Mangarrayi (AUS) 🔴
Maringarr (AUS) 🔴
Marrisyefin (AUS) 🔴
Marrithiyel (AUS) 🔴
Martuwangka (AUS) ⚪
Maung (AUS) ⚪
Miriwoong (AUS) 🔴
Mudburra (AUS) 🟠
Nakkara (AUS) 🟠
Ngaanyatjarra (AUS) ⚪
Ngaatjatjara (AUS) 🟠
Ngalakan (AUS) 🔴
Ngaliwuru (AUS) 🔴
Ngalkbun (AUS) 🟠
Ngandi (AUS) 🔴
Ngangikurunggurr (AUS) 🟠
Ngardi (AUS) 🔴
Ngarinman (AUS) 🟠
Ngarinyin (AUS) 🟡
Ngarla (AUS) ⚫
Ngarluma (AUS) 🔴
Nunggubuyu (AUS) 🟠
Nyamal (AUS) 🟠
Nyangumarta (AUS) ⚪
Nyikina (AUS) 🟠
Paakantyi (AUS) 🔴
Pintupi (AUS) ⚪
Pitjantjatjara (AUS) ⚪
Rembarrnga (AUS) 🔴
Ritharrngu (AUS) 🟡
Thaayorre (AUS) 🟡
Tharkarri (AUS) 🔴
Umpila (AUS) 🟠
Waanyi (AUS) 🔴
Wagiman (AUS) 🟠
Wajarri (AUS) 🟠
Walmajarri (AUS) 🟡
Wambaya (AUS) 🔴
Wangaaybuwan (AUS) 🔴
Wangkumara (AUS) 🔴
Wardaman (AUS) 🟠
Warlpiri (AUS) ⚪
Warnman (AUS) 🟠
Warumungu (AUS) 🟠
Wik Mungkan (AUS) ⚪
Wik Ngathan (AUS) 🟡
Wik Ngencherr (AUS) 🟠
Wiradjuri (AUS) 🔴
Worrorra (AUS) 🔴
Wunambal (AUS) 🔴
Yan-nhangu (AUS) 🟡
Yankunytjatjara (AUS) 🟡
Yanyuwa (AUS) 🟠
Yiiji (AUS) 🔴
Yir Yoront (AUS) ⚫


INDONESIA
Sumba
Timor
Helong
Kupang
TIMOR-LESTE
Timor Sea
Arafura Sea
130°E
140°E
10°S
20°S
30°S
150°E
Torres Strait
New Guinea map
Daru
PORT MORESBY
Alotau
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
Maung
Kunwinjku
Yan-nhangu
Djinang
Kunbarlang
Gurrgoni
Nakkara
Ritharrngu
Ngandi
Ngalkbun
Nunggubuyu
Indian
Ocean
Tiwi Islands
Tiwi
Marrgu
Iwaidja
Madngele
Malak Malak
Marrithiyel
Marrisyefin
Maringarr
Ngangikurunggurr
Gaagudju
Rembarrnga
Wagiman
Jawoyn
Ngalakan
Mangarrayi
Gupapuyngu
Anindilyakwa
Groot Eylandt
Gulf of
Carpentaria
Wik Mungkan
Kuuku Ya'u
Umpila
Wik Ngencherr
Wik Ngathan
Guugu Yimidhirr
Thaayorre
Koko Bera
Kunjen
Cooktown
Kuku Yalanji
Cairns
Coral
Sea
Wunambal
Gajerrong
Jaminjung
Wardaman
Ngaliwuru
Yanyuwa
Ganggalidda
Lardil
Yir Yoront
Kayardild
Bardi
Worrorra
Ngarinyin
Yiiji
Miriwoong
Ngarinman
Alawa
Mudburra
Jingulu
Garrwa
Waanyi
Kurtjar
Dyirbal
Broome
Bunuba
Nyikina
Kija
Kuurinji
Wambaya
Karajarri
Gooniyandi
Tennant Creek
Warumungu
Townsville
Ngarla
Port Hedland
Nyangumarta
Mangarla
Walmajarri
Ngardi
Warlpiri
NORTHERN
TERRITORY
Mount Isa
Ngarluma
Kurrama
Nyamal
Kukatja
Banjima
Warnman
Pintupi
Alice Springs
QUEENSLAND
South
Pacific
Ocean
Tharkarri
Martuwangka
Arrernte
AUSTRALIA
Ngaatjatjara
Ngaanyatjarra
Pitjantjatjara
Antakirinya
Yankunytjatjara
Wajarri
WESTERN
AUSTRALIA
SOUTH
AUSTRALIA
Arabana
Warrego
Badala
Dungidjau
Brisbane
Wangkumara
Bundjalung
Geraldton
Wangaaybuwan
Gamilaraay
Gumbaynggirr
Kalgoorlie
Adnyamathanha
Paakantyi
Darling
Perth
NEW SOUTH WALES
Newcastle
Great Australian Bight
Esperance
Kaurna
Sydney
Dharug
Dharawal
Wiradjuri
Dhurga
Albany
Port Lincoln
Adelaide
CANBERRA
Murray
Tasman
Sea
Kangaroo Island
VICTORIA
Melbourne
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
0
250
500 km

The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

Map 27 Pacific

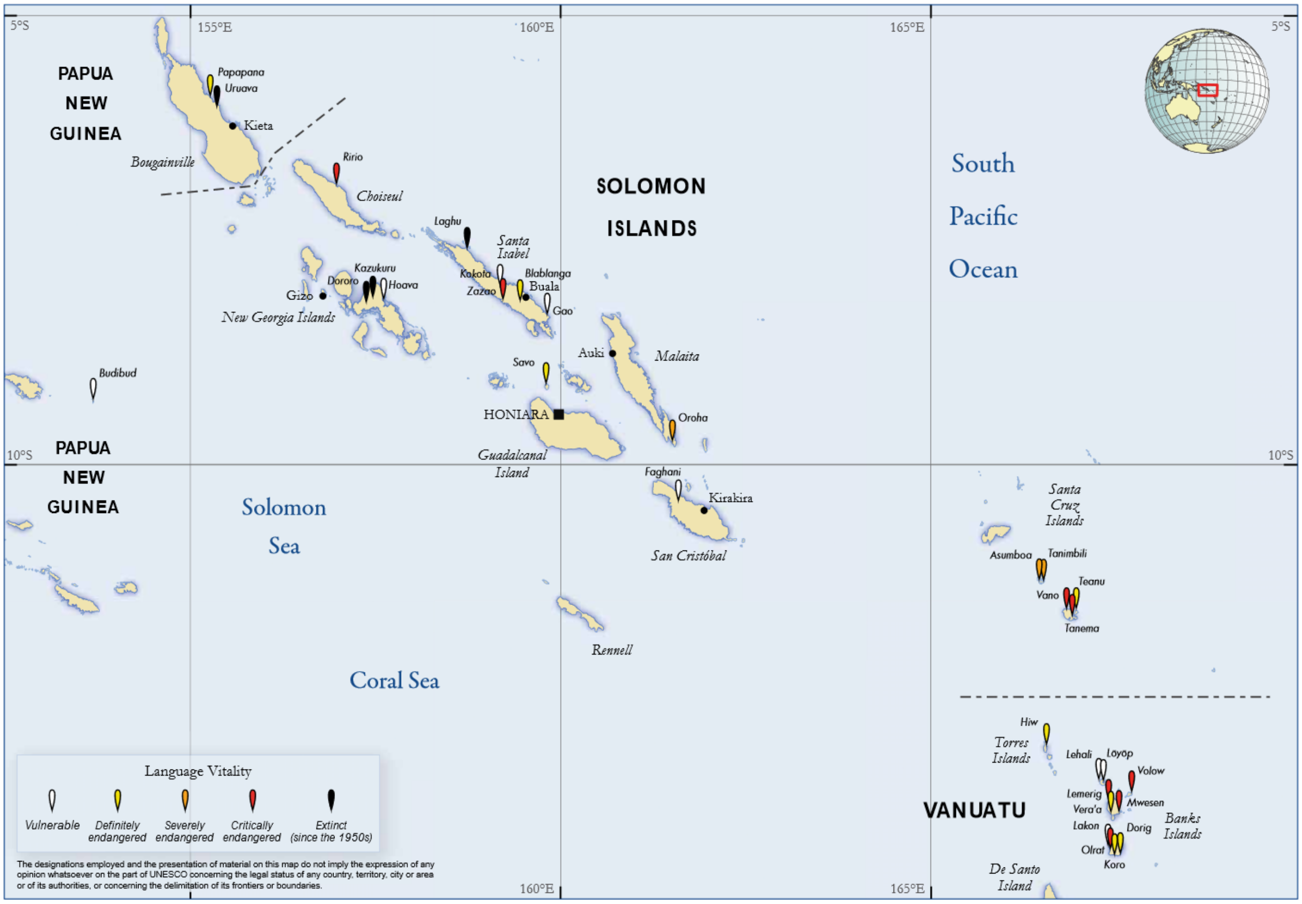
- **Austral dialects** (PYF) 🟡
- **Chamorro** (GUM) ⚪
- **Hawaiian** (USA) 🔴
- **Kapingamarangi** (FSM) 🟠
- **Kosraean** (FSM; NRU) 🟠
- **Mangareva** (PYF) 🟠
- **Manihiki** (COK) 🟡
- **Maori** (NZL) ⚪
- **Mokilese** (FSM) 🔴
- **Mortlockese** (FSM) 🟡
- **Namonuito** (FSM) 🟠
- **Nauruan** (NRU) 🟠
- **Ngatikese Men's Creole** (FSM) 🟡
- **Niuean** (NIU) 🟡
- **Norfolk-Pitcairn** (2) (NFK; PCN) ⚪
- **Nukuoro** (FSM) 🟡
- **Paafang** (FSM) 🟠
- **Penrhyn** (COK) 🟠
- **Pingelapese** (FSM) 🟠
- **Pukapukan** (COK) 🟡
- **Puluwat** (FSM) 🟠
- **Rapa** (PYF) 🟠
- **Rapanui** (CHL) 🟠
- **Rarotongan** (COK) ⚪
- **Rotuman** (FJI) ⚪
- **Satawal** (FSM) 🟠
- **Sonsorol** (PLW) 🟠
- **Tokelauan** (TKL) 🟠
- **Tuamotuan** (PYF) 🟡
- **Tuvaluan** (TUV) 🟡
- **Ulithian** (FSM) 🟠
- **Woleaian** (FSM) 🟠


140°E
160°E
180°E
140°W
120°W
10°N
10°S
30°S
160°W
MEXICO
Central America map
Hawaiian
Hawaiian Islands
Northern Mariana Islands
Chamorro
Guam
Ulithian
Sonsorol
Namonuito
Mortlockese
Ngatikese Men's Creole
Paafang
MARSHALL ISLANDS
Mokilese
Pingelapese
Puluwat
PALAU
Woleaian
Satawal
FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA
Kosraean
Nukuoro
Kapingamarangi
Nauruan
NAURU
New Guinea map
KIRIBATI
Northern Line Islands
South Pacific Ocean
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
INDONESIA
SOLOMON ISLANDS
Tuvaluan
TUVALU
Tokelauan
Tokelau
Pukapukan
Penrhyn
Manihiki
Solomon Is. map
Rotuman
Wallis-et Futuna
SAMOA
American Samoa
Tuamotuan
French Polynesia
Coral Sea
VANUATU
FIJI
New Caledonia
Niuean
Niue
Rarotongan
TONGA
Cook Islands
Austral dialects
Mangareva
Norfolk-Pitcairn
Pitcairn
AUSTRALIA
Rapa
Rapanui
Southern Vanuatu and New Caledonia map
Norfolk-Pitcairn
0 250 500 1 000 1 500 km
Tasman Sea
Maori
Australia map
NEW-ZEALAND
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
Tasmania
The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

Map 28 Solomon Islands and Northern Vanuatu

- **Asumboa** (SLB) 🟠
- **Blablanga** (SLB) 🟡
- **Budibud** (PNG) ⚪
- **Dorig** (VUT) 🟡
- **Dororo** (SLB) ⚫
- **Faghani** (SLB) ⚪
- **Gao** (SLB) ⚪
- **Hiw** (VUT) 🟡
- **Hoava** (SLB) ⚪
- **Kazukuru** (SLB) ⚫
- **Kokota** (SLB) ⚪
- **Koro** (VUT) 🟡
- **Laghu** (SLB) ⚫
- **Lakon** (VUT) ⚪
- **Lehali** (VUT) ⚪
- **Lemerig** (VUT) 🔴
- **Löyöp** (VUT) ⚪
- **Mwesen** (VUT) 🔴
- **Olrat** (VUT) 🔴
- **Oroha** (SLB) 🟠
- **Papapana** (PNG) 🟡
- **Ririo** (SLB) 🔴
- **Savo** (SLB) 🟡
- **Tanema** (SLB) 🔴
- **Tanimbili** (SLB) 🟠
- **Teanu** (SLB) 🟡
- **Uruava** (PNG) ⚫
- **Vano** (SLB) 🔴
- **Vera’a** (VUT) 🟡
- **Volow** (VUT) 🔴
- **Zazao** (SLB) 🔴

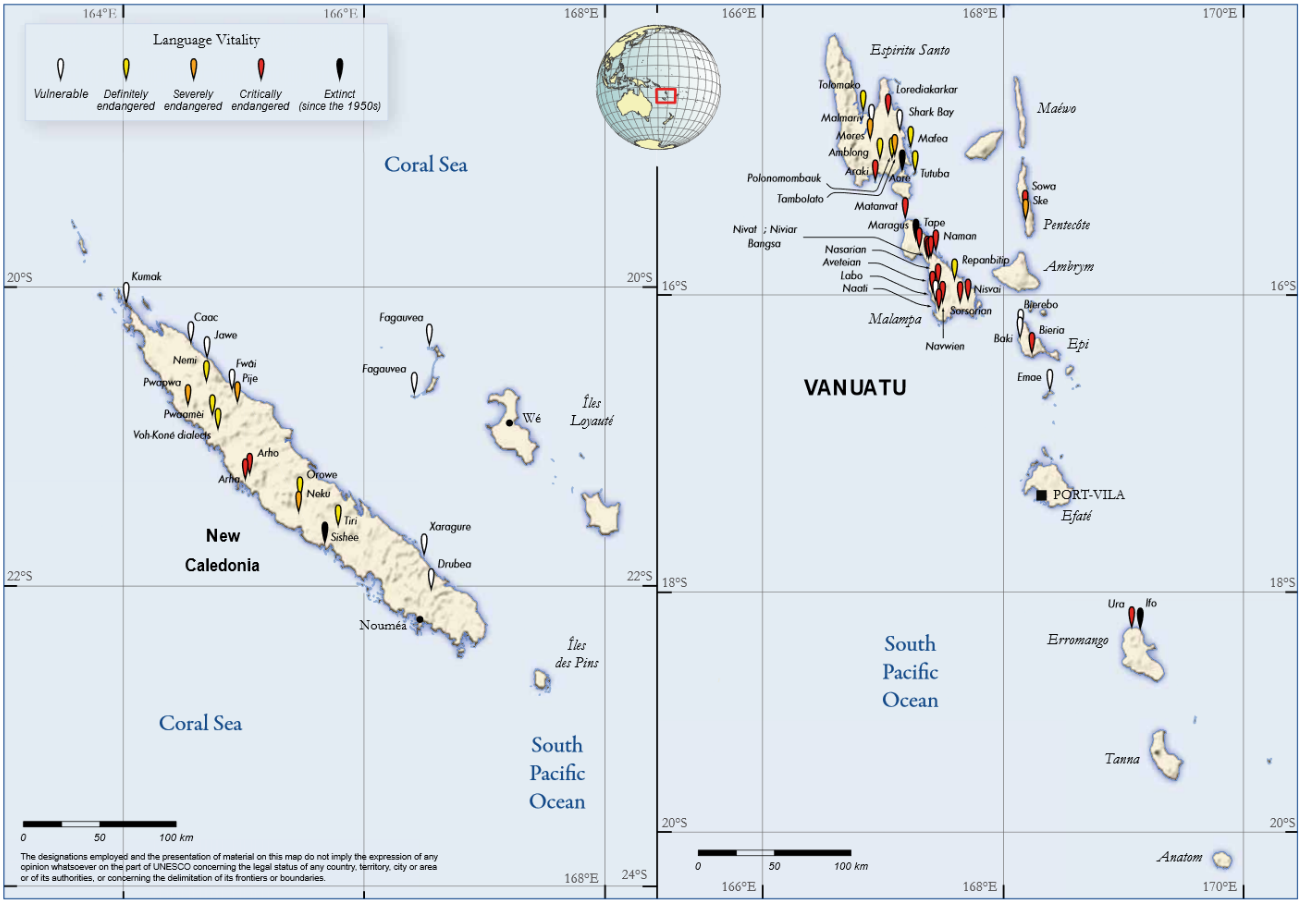
Solomon Islands and Northern Vanuatu Map 28


5°S
155°E
160°E
165°E
5°S
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
Papapana
Uruava
Kieta
Bougainville
Ririo
Choiseul
SOLOMON ISLANDS
South Pacific Ocean
Laghu
Santa Isabel
Kazukuru
Dororo
Hoava
Gizo
New Georgia Islands
Kokota
Zazao
Blablanga
Buala
Gao
Auki
Malaita
Savo
Budibud
HONIARA
Oroha
10°S
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
Guadalcanal Island
Faghani
Kirakira
10°S
Santa Cruz Islands
Solomon Sea
San Cristóbal
Asumboa
Tanimbili
Teanu
Vano
Tanema
Rennell
Coral Sea
Hiw
Torres Islands
Lehali
Loyop
Volow
Lemerig
Vera'a
Mwesen
VANUATU
Lakon
Dorig
Banks Islands
Olrat
Koro
De Santo Island
Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.
160°E
165°E

Map 29 Southern Vanuatu and New Caledonia

Amblong (VUT) 🟡
Aore (VUT) ⚫
Araki (VUT) 🔴
Arha (NCL) 🔴
Arho (NCL) 🔴
Aveteian (VUT) 🔴
Baki (VUT) ⚪
Bangsa (VUT) 🔴
Bierebo (VUT) ⚪
Bieria (VUT) 🔴
Caac (NCL) ⚪
Drubea (NCL) ⚪
Emae (VUT) ⚪
Fagauvea (2) (NCL) ⚪
Fwâi (NCL) ⚪
Ifo (VUT) ⚫
Jawe (NCL) ⚪
Kumak (NCL) ⚪
Labo (VUT) ⚪
Lorediakarkar (VUT) 🔴
Mafea (VUT) 🟡
Malmariv (VUT) ⚪
Maragus (VUT) ⚫
Matanvat (VUT) 🔴
Mores (VUT) 🟠
Naati (VUT) 🔴
Naman (VUT) 🔴
Nasarian (VUT) 🔴
Navwien (VUT) 🔴
Neku (NCL) 🟠
Nemi (NCL) 🟡
Nisvai (VUT) 🔴
Nivat (VUT) 🔴
Niviar (VUT) 🔴
Orowe (NCL) 🟡
Pije (NCL) 🟠
Polonomombauk (VUT) 🟡
Pwaamèi (NCL) 🟡
Pwapwa (NCL) 🟠
Repanbitip (VUT) 🟡
Shark Bay (VUT) ⚪
Sishee (NCL) ⚫
Ske (VUT) 🟠
Sorsorian (VUT) 🔴
Sowa (VUT) 🔴
Tambotalo (VUT) 🟠
Tape (VUT) 🔴
Tiri (NCL) 🟡
Tolomako (VUT) 🟡
Tutuba (VUT) 🟡
Ura (VUT) 🔴
Voh-Koné dialects (NCL) 🟡
Xaragure (NCL) ⚪

Southern Vanuatu and New Caledonia Map 29


Language Vitality
Vulnerable
Definitely endangered
Severely endangered
Critically endangered
Extinct (since the 1950s)
164°E
166°E
168°E
170°E
20°S
22°S
24°S
16°S
18°S
Coral Sea
South Pacific Ocean
New Caledonia
Kumak
Caac
Jawe
Nemi
Fwâi
Pije
Pwapwa
Pwaamèi
Voh-Koné dialects
Arho
Arha
Orowe
Neku
Tiri
Sishee
Xaragure
Drubea
Nouméa
Fagauvea
Fagauvea
Wé
Îles Loyauté
Îles des Pins
VANUATU
Espiritu Santo
Tolomako
Lorediakarkar
Malmariv
Shark Bay
Mores
Mafea
Amblong
Araki
Aore
Tutuba
Polonombauk
Tambolato
Matanvat
Maragus
Tape
Nivat ; Niviar
Bangsa
Naman
Nasarian
Aveteian
Labo
Naati
Repanbitip
Nisvai
Sorsorian
Navwien
Malampa
Maéwo
Sowa
Ske
Pentecôte
Ambrym
Bierebo
Bieria
Baki
Epi
Emae
PORT-VILA
Efaté
Ura
Ifo
Erromango
Tanna
Anatom
0
50
100 km
0
50
100 km

The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNESCO concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

Atlas
of the World's Languages in Danger

Languages are not only tools of communication, they also reflect a view of the world. Languages are vehicles of value systems and cultural expressions and are an essential component of the living heritage of humanity. Yet, many of them are in danger of disappearing.

UNESCO's *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* tries to raise awareness on language endangerment.

This third edition has been completely revised and expanded to include new series of maps and new points of view.

Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger

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